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The World's Orators

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Comprising

THE GREAT ORATIONS OF THE WORLD'S HISTORY

With

Introductory Essays, Biographical Sketches and Critical Notes

GUY CARLETON LEE, PH.D.
Editor-in-Chief

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

TO

THE ORATORS OF THE EARLY AND MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

THIS volume, the third in *The World's Orators* Series, is devoted to patristic eloquence. The title chosen for the work, *The Orators of the Early and Mediæval Church,* indicates its comprehensive scope. This includes examples of eloquence chosen from the masterpieces of the famous orators of the first thousand years of the history of the Christian Church.

The canons of modern criticism are as applicable to the selections herein contained as to the master-orations of to-day ; yet correctly and successfully to apply these rules of the twentieth century, a knowledge of the conditions governing patristic oratory is essential. This knowledge is not always at command ; the statement, therefore, is appropriate, that the orations given in this volume seemed to their hearers eloquent beyond criticism.

In selecting the material for the present volume the Editors have kept in mind the twofold object of the World's Orators Series, that is, the presentation of masterpieces of eloquence and the illustration of oratorical development. This rule of selection has compelled the inclusion of certain orations that are more valuable as indicating steps in progress than as brilliant specimens of eloquence.

The Editor-in-Chief has been extremely fortunate in securing the collaboration of Joseph Cullen Ayer, B.D. (*Cambridge*), Ph.D. (*Leipsic*). The natural oratorical ability, as well as the deep and broad learning of this scholar, has been of the greatest assistance. His collaboration has left its impress upon every selection in this volume. The Editor-in-Chief also takes pleasure in acknowledging the valuable assistance of Professor Mitchell Carroll in translating several of the orations.

G. C. L.

HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT,
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THE WORLD'S ORATORS

ORATORY OF THE EARLY AND MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

WHEN the Apostles of Jesus Christ went forth from Jerusalem to convert the world, they bore a message addressed to the hearts and minds of all men. They had no elaborate system of philosophy or dogmatic theology to expound to the world. They did not even have a written account of that life which, following their mission, they were to proclaim to the whole race. Their method and equipment was the personal appeal, the personal conviction. As witnesses of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, they told what they had seen and heard. They aimed to make it so clear, so real, so convincing that others would accept Him as the prophet of righteousness, the Redeemer of Israel, the incarnate Son of God.

The Christian teachers sought to touch men's hearts and to arouse in men's souls the longing for a Savior, to show them their helplessness and then to point out the source of the longed-for help. Like St. Peter on the first Christian Pentecost, they painted the terror of the great day and the sin of mankind. They roused men from indifference and compelled them to ask, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Like St. Paul, standing on Mars' Hill in Athens, they appealed to the conscience of each man, showed him that what he had been blindly and unsuccessfully seeking was at last made clear in the new revelation, warned him that the judgment day was fixed and that the time was short before the Crucified would return in the clouds of heaven to hold the Grand Assize and establish His eternal kingdom.

The propaganda that began in Jerusalem with the discourses of a few Galileans was from the first organized in the form of a theocracy. The Kingdom of Heaven had been the main theme of many of their Master's discourses, and in the multitudes that embraced the faith the zealous missionaries saw a fulfilment, daily becoming clearer, of the splendid prophecies of the new kingdom. In a few years, no one knew how soon, the crucified Lord would return. Those who repented and prepared themselves would then reign forever with Him. In the meantime the believers were

bound together more firmly than by any tie of kindred, and their faith and zeal sought ever new opportunities to extend the kingdom of which they were partakers by faith.

The sources of Christian oratory lay in the nature of the Christian message and organization of the Church. There was an intense conviction of the truth and importance of the message, an overpowering impulse of loyalty to Christ and love for every child of God for whom Christ had died, a passionate longing to save men from their doom, and with them to welcome the returning Lord. It was the same enlistment of every generous emotion as that which to-day gives true eloquence to many a missionary's appeal to men's hearts and minds. It was heart speaking to heart, soul embracing soul.

With the widespread use of authoritative Apostolic writing toward the end of the first century of the Christian Church, the character of Christian preaching, and consequently Christian oratory as practised in the assemblies of worship, underwent a marked change. It was no longer the living voice; it was the written word that was preëminent. The twelve Apostles had passed to their reward, and the number of their immediate disciples was fast diminishing. The natural impulse was to make the epistle of an Apostle or a companion of an Apostle take the place of a living

teacher. Even the title Apostle, that had meant so much, ceased to impress men's minds as it was applied to their contemporaries. The Church had a book to put beside the book of the Jews, and the worship of the Church could always be enriched with the words of those who had received a personal commission from the Lord.

Two distinct types of preaching took their rise from the changed condition of public worship. On the one hand there was, as before, the free appeal, the exhortation made by one Christian to the other Christians of the assembly. The form of this was governed by the exigencies of time and place, by the capacity of the speaker, and the needs of the audience. On the other hand there was the exposition of the Gospel and other sacred writings, or the homily, an explanation verse by verse of the Scriptures, with such application as the speaker might be able to make of the text. This new practice increased in favor and importance as the unique value of the writings of the New Testament became apparent, and their witness to the Apostolic faith was needed to stem the tremendous flood of gnostic heresies which, at the end of the first century and for a hundred years or more, threatened the existence of the Christian faith. As the services became more carefully regulated, the homily, or the exposition of the passage read aloud in the public worship,

became a more important and dignified part of the service.

In the course of a few decades the clergy were no longer a few zealous and for the most part uneducated men. They became a body of carefully educated and trained preachers and teachers. They made a special study of the sacred writings, much more thorough than any layman could make. They were schooled in the arts of the expositor and philologist. The subtle dialectics of the Greeks were diligently practised.

The fountain-head of this new culture,so foreign to the simple message of the Galileans, was Alexandria, the intellectual capital of the Roman Empire. When men applied this new learning to the service of the Church, the style of preaching very quickly departed from the simple exposition of which Justin Martyr bears witness. Elaborate homilies were composed on the books of the Bible. These were often so arranged as to cover the entire book, very often verse by verse, so that when brought together they formed extended commentaries on Holy Writ. But this working over and revising of the homilies that were delivered first of all in the course of public worship had, as was to be expected, more or less effect upon the style. We have, therefore, but an imperfect conception of the homilies as they were actually delivered. Among these, first in importance

were those of Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Ambrose.

A homily that was little more than a full comment of an edifying character upon a continuous passage, and that often indulged, after the patristic method, in an elaborate treatment of types and allegories, certainly labored under great disadvantages. It might hold its own as a useful part of public worship, it might be used as the foundation of an elaborate commentary on the sacred text, but as a discourse it could not ordinarily compare to advantage with the logically arranged exhortation, which pursued a plan based, not upon the narrative of some incident in the life of an Apostle, but upon the fundamental laws of thought. The art of the orator, as it had been developed in the days of Athenian culture and transmitted, with little loss, to the following centuries, had accustomed the more cultivated converts, who were flocking to the Church in ever-increasing numbers, to a superior style of discourse. The homily that had attained such importance could not, however much it allowed learning and spiritual insight to find employment, engage the higher artistic faculties. But the free oration, based sometimes on a a text of Scripture, or delivered in honor of some saint or to commemorate some festival of the Lord, asserted for itself a place to which it was certainly entitled, and from which it has never been driven.

The free oration could not escape the influence of the rhetorical schools; comparison with secular productions alone would have driven the Church's orators to equip themselves with all the aids of the oratorical art. But not a few leading theologians either gave themselves careful preparation in all the arts that go to make up a powerful public speaker, or had been heathen or secular orators before they brought their talents to the Church. Tertullian, Ambrose, and Augustine in the West, and Gregory Thaumaturgus, Chrysostom, Basil, and the two Gregorys in the East, were all carefully trained orators.

With the immense increase in the number of the Church's adherents immediately after the accession of Constantine, and the consequent greatly increased employment of all the elements of art in the service of the Church, the artistically arranged speech became more and more prominent, especially in the great church centres of the East. Men no longer relied upon the stimulus of a burning zeal to render their message convincing. Rhetoric, logic, declamation, and gesture closely bordering upon the dramatic were assiduously studied in the centuries following the overthrow of the heathen empire. Long and careful practice enabled the speakers to take advantage of any little incident and to construct an eloquent passage on some chance occurrence. The sermons and

orations were at times most carefully prepared, and were delivered with theatrical effect amid the plaudits of an admiring audience. At other times the orator spoke extemporaneously, having the stimulus of an excited multitude or of an ornate ritual to quicken his powers, and shorthand writers took down the streams of eloquence that poured from the lips of a John Chrysostom or a Gregory Nazianzen.

The highest development of Church oratory in ancient times was attained in the East at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries. The Church was upheld by the authority of the Empire, and the prestige which this alliance conferred upon it enabled it to recruit its ranks from the most distinguished, ambitious, and talented orators and scholars. Its bishops moved through the world like princes of the blood; its anchorites were regarded as almost a superior order of beings. When Chrysostom, by his unsparing denunciation of wickedness in high places, called down the enmity of the court, a tumult maintained him in his see; only by the aid of a widespread conspiracy was the imperial court able to accomplish his overthrow and drive him into exile. The councils of the Church were the scenes of the most hotly contested conflicts, and even the remotest corners of the Empire waited with breathless expectation for their decisions.

The Church could play its ambitious rôle only by the aid of the forensic arts; it demanded for its service the orator, and the demand was amply met.

In the complex life of the imperial Church, the opportunities for the Church orator were vastly increased. There were, as ever, the services of the Church with the homily, a source of edification and instruction; but the simple statement of the faith had in the larger places become, under the influence of great doctrinal controversies, an elaborate dogmatic exposition. Every philosophical subtlety found its place in the complicated logical demonstrations of the orthodox faith. The Bible was ransacked for apposite quotations, and even the fabulous natural history of the time embellished the argument. Every weapon by which a wound might be dealt the common foe was seized and vigorously employed. The impression gained from the works of Athanasius or Gregory of Nyssa is that of completeness. The subject has been exhaustively handled,—every difficulty met, every objection overcome, every position of the enemy attacked and captured. The simple homily had also given place in great degree to the elaborate occasional discourse. Some riots in Antioch, for instance, gave Chrysostom an opportunity to deliver a series of discourses day after day, so that he might work with cumulative effect

upon the mind of the city. The honor in which the saints were held and the commemoration of their days of martyrdom introduced the eulogy as a form of ecclesiastical discourse, in which the well-meant praise often passed the limits of sobriety and good taste. Of the oratorical efforts of this period, there are no finer specimens than the orations of Gregory Nazianzen, On Basil and On Leaving Constantinople. They stand among the world's greatest orations without respect to subject. Here the depth of feeling, the beauty of language, the clear vein of thought, are blended in a perfect whole. Of the strong, helpful, thoroughly practical preaching, unsparing toward vice of every sort, tender and considerate toward weakness and innocence, the homilies of Chrysostom and Basil stand as models for all time. In the ecstatic *Rhythms* of Ephrem Syrus, the mystical element, which in all schools lay beneath the surface, found its expression, and the language of the pulpit assumed a metrical form that harmonized with the thought.

The popularity of the great preachers, the promiscuous crowds that pressed to hear them, the applause with which their words were greeted, proved the downfall of the art. The demands of a people accustomed to the cheap art of the public orator under a despotism, or to the buffoonery of a degenerate theatre, were met by the orators

of the Church, who, in spite of their holy function, were still but weak men.

A degraded rhetoric, an employment of theatrical mannerisms, a servility to the whims and passions of the multitude, an adulation of those in authority, an inordinate effusiveness in the panegyrics of popular saints, a courting of popularity by the wiles of the demagogue, and even the posturing of the mountebank — these were the results of the extraordinary importance and popularity of the preacher and the sermon; and such causes as these brought about the downfall of Church oratory in the East. Only the strongest could withstand with any degree of success the seductions of their position; the weaker yielded without resistance. A populace pleased by the ear-tickling periods of the sensationalists, turned to those who satisfied it, and the higher and nobler oratory rapidly disappeared; and the memory of the glorious era of Chrysostom, Basil, and the two Gregorys lingered only in the traditions of schools and monasteries.

In the Western Church the forces that raised oratory so high in the East were absent. The powerful, though unhealthful, stimulus of the imperial court was lacking, and what remained of the Empire had little effect upon the fortunes of the Church. There were no great controversies that roused the interest of the multitude; these were

the heritage of the Greek mind, not the Latin. There was but little homogeneous life of the Church; the provinces were falling apart, the barbarians were wresting large tracts away from the Empire, and all was tending to overthrow the old culture. In addition to these external causes were those characteristics of the Latin mind and temperament that turned the thought and power of the Church in other channels than the homily or the oration. The Church was just awakening to the great task before her. She had never been tempted to lose herself like the Eastern Church in frothy declamation and hair-splitting speculation. There was an immense work to be faced in bringing the barbarians into the Church, in imposing upon them the counterpart of the Roman Empire, and, though abandoned, rejected, spurned, by the court at Constantinople, in rising once more in splendor and strength to reign over the nations. In the dim anticipations of her destiny there seems to have been little opportunity for popular expression. The ecclesiastical systems of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian prepared the way for the doctrinal system of Augustine and Ambrose, and Leo and Gregory the Great made it possible to apply the same to the Western problems; but it was the work not so much of the orator as of the administrator.

Under such conditions and with such anticipa-

tions, the Western Church did not develop in its earliest period the artistic side of preaching. The practical discourse, which at once explained a passage of Holy Scripture and encouraged, exhorted, or rebuked the people, sufficed. There was not that popular demand for the rhetorical exhibitions that astonish us in the Eastern Church. The less fervid, less poetical, less imaginative Latin mind could not have appreciated the productions of the great orators of Constantinople and Cappadocia. But the West could do what the East could not do. It was able to appreciate the deeper moral aspects of the faith, and so detect and overcome the Pelagian heresy. It was able to see the enormous need for missionaries among the barbarians of the North, and it was able to meet the need, and so begin at the very lowest stage the course of development in Christian oratory which has gone on without a break for a dozen and more centuries.

Among the names that stand forth more prominently among the teachers of the Church as orators are four,—Ambrose, Augustine, Leo, and Gregory the Great. Each has his peculiar excellence, and yet for eloquence none can be compared to advantage with Chrysostom, Basil, and the two other Gregorys. Of these, perhaps, Ambrose came nearer to the Eastern standard in his funeral orations and three other great discourses, but he seems unable to touch the lofty note sounded by

Gregory Nazianzen. Augustine, who had been a professor of eloquence, though he might equal Chrysostom as an exegete, and in profound insight into the human heart with its multiplicity of conflicting motives, lacks the charm and masterfulness of the Archbishop of Constantinople. He appeals no less directly to the deepest feeling, yet fails to stir so deeply, so powerfully, so continuously, the moral nature. Leo and Gregory the Great find no counterpart in the East. The short, simple, and incisive sermons of the former are unique in the history of the Church, and stand in marked contrast with the elaborate discourse on kindred subjects by Gregory of Nyssa. They could no more have been appreciated by the congregation that listened with rapture to Gregory of Nyssa, than could the elaborate dogmatic expositions of the Bishop of Nyssa have been followed by the Roman congregation. In Gregory the Great the administrative spirit, which in Leo blended so admirably with theological acumen, seemed to have absorbed the whole man. The scholar and the literary artist have disappeared. Works of simple edification are still possible, but allegorical masses of interpretations and accumulations of traditions choke the thought as it struggles for elevated forms of expression. But Gregory's noblest sermon to the world was not a discourse, but an act—the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. Once more in tones

never to be forgotten the command was heard, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

When Gregory the Great organized the Anglo-Saxon mission on a large scale, he might seem to have done little for oratory and much for missions. But the Christian Church has been able to win converts only by the persuasive eloquence of its missionaries. The very subject, as has been noted above, furnished to the preacher a stimulus to his efforts, and a foundation for his oratory. Without conscious art, he must often in his impassioned appeal to the hearts of men and in his vivid portrayal of the glories of the Cross, have surpassed many more finished products of rhetorical culture. The age, however, was rude. The little of the ancient culture that had remained till the beginning of the sixth century, was fast disappearing in the confusion that had displaced the order of the Empire. The untutored eloquence of the missionary might be able to win men to the faith, but it did not remain in a literary form. We have, accordingly, no authentic specimens of the discourses which played such a large part in the history of mediæval Europe, but the age was by no means without a witness to its art of speaking. In the monasteries of England and Germany, a little light struggled amid the gloom. The Venerable Bede in England, for his age a prodigy of learning,

left a few valuable sermons, of which one has found its way into the Breviary. Rabanus Maurus in Germany wrote sermons or homilies to be read in parish churches. Such might, at first sight, seem only an indication of the utter collapse of learning. On the contrary, it was significant of the determination on the part of the authorities that some instruction should be given the people. If the clergy were but little better educated than the laity, the use of these homilies might be an aid to original work,—an instruction to priest as well as to people.

If in any age it might seem excusable that the Church should neglect the art of preaching, it would have been in the ninth and tenth centuries, after the great revival under Charles the Great had run its course and the darkest period in European history was beginning. Very little could be expected of the clergy when Hincmar of Rheims found it necessary to require that each priest should be able to read fluently the Mass, the Commandments, the Epistles, and the Gospels. But the same century saw canons enacted in the Church councils requiring the bishops to preach in person. Works on the art of preaching, or Church oratory, were composed by the more learned, and the bishops were diligent in exhorting their priests to preach in their churches. The sermons that remain from this period are, as a

rule, very short and very dry. Their authors seem to have intended to produce a simple, clear impression, and effort was made not so much to stir the emotions as to inform the mind. Duties needed to be stated repeatedly in the plainest language. Errors needed to be pointed out without circumlocution. The faith had to be taught in its barest outlines; the vast mass of the people were to be held to the rudiments of Christian learning until they knew them. In connection with the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other necessary learning, a great deal of instruction was given and the fundamental facts of the faith impressed upon the mind. This is not the place to look for eloquence as it appears in the works of the great preachers of the Eastern Church. The auditor received on the whole exactly what he needed. However plain and even rude the preaching might have been at times, the result was the Mediæval Church with all its wonderful intellectual and spiritual power. Measured by its effect and its fitness to produce that effect, the eloquence of the Middle Ages, though not the eloquence of the schools, was a species of true eloquence.

The mediæval preachers labored under several disadvantages. The passion for allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures led men to an ingenuity that absorbed the attention but did not move the heart. The emotional element of the discourse,

that which transforms the cold logical presentation of a subject into eloquence, was lost in the maze of far-fetched interpretations. Even the logical consistency of the sermon was at times seriously disturbed by the vagaries of the exegesis. Another disadvantage under which the preacher labored was the custom of using as a text an extended passage of Scripture and expounding it in all its details. Every verse, every phrase even, was made to yield matter for edification. The skill of the allegorist rendered the most unpromising matter useful and turned to account what is overlooked by the more superficial students of modern times. But the complexity of the matter detracted immensely from the oratorical effect of the sermons. If the preacher had a clear proposition as the basis of his discourse which he aimed at expounding and enforcing, he was obliged at almost every turn to digress from the direct way and to take advantage of some opportunity of enforcing an important but irrelevant truth, at the cost of weakening his main object.

The great speeches of the Middle Ages, not distinctively homiletical in purpose and plan, are few in number. It was not an age much given to public discussion. The leaders of thought were the theologians and other ecclesiastics. They moulded the minds of men by the sermons in the Church service or by their counsel at the courts

of the temporal rulers. There is no name of a layman that stands out in the history of the great mediæval period as also that of an orator. But there were speeches that were not sermons and that have lived in literature. Like all great speeches, they are connected with important moral movements, in which the Middle Ages, however rude and ignorant men of that period may now appear, were by no means deficient. The vast plans of the Church in extending its authority over the disorganized provinces of Europe, the far-reaching effects of the racial instinct in its long warfare with the Mohammedan nations, these and other movements and forces were intimately bound up with men's deepest moral feelings. They were at the same time a part of religion. The Roman prerogatives were a matter of faith, the Crusades were for the defence of that faith. Damiani, in his speech at Milan, might seem to be doing nothing more than advancing the ambitious plans of the Hilderbrandine policy in the extension of the Decretal System of the Church. It was, however, a great moral reform that lay at the basis of that policy. Every deep moral feeling as well as the instincts of faith gave force to his words. His stout defence of what he considered the just prerogatives of the Petrine See is a worthy example of the eloquence that zeal and determination can give to even stammering

lips. The address of Urban at the Council of Clermont marks a turning-point in the history of the world. Yet these speeches as we read them to-day do not appear at all thrilling. Damiani's is reported by his own pen and much of the actual language is preserved, though it seems possible that the author took the liberty of giving a summary rather than an extended report of his memorable speech. Urban's address has been reproduced in different forms in the chronicles of the times and so we have reason to believe that his actual words have not come down to us. It is, therefore, with great hesitancy that one attempts to assess the oratorical worth of these speeches. That they were eloquent can only be concluded by the effect they are known to have produced upon those that heard them.

From what has been said, it can be seen that in one sense there were no "world's orators" in the mediæval period, — not because there were no worthy preachers, profound theologians, and great ecclesiastical statesmen, for there were such in abundance ; but because the movement of thought, which in the slow processes of the centuries was bringing about the modern world, had not brought men to that point where the arts of the rhetorician and the orator were deemed necessary to the suitable presentation of truth. The logical method of a Summa, or a Commentary on the Sentence,

gratified the mind, and logical precision in such works was rightly held of more value than rhetorical beauty. In these great products of the profoundest thought and feeling there is, in the magnificent plan on which the matter is arranged, in the extraordinary subtlety with which every possible argument for or against each proposition is advanced or refuted, in the irresistible forward movement of the thought, something that produces much the same effect as the grandest oratory. It was the age's supreme effort to give utterance to its deepest emotions and convictions.

The great works of scholastic theology, however noble they might be, could not take the place of popular instruction. The common people were unable to use the works of Albert the Great or Aquinas; they must have the results of these men's thought presented in the simplest form. The mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, — the very orders that produced the greatest theologians of the Middle Ages, — were founded to carry on the work of preaching among the common people, and especially to convert, by preaching, the heretical sects that perpetuated for so long the gnostic ideas of the first centuries. The Church sought to bring every man to the knowledge of the truth; and though, in keeping with the rudeness of the times, harsh measures were not infrequently employed, it was not because

the Church in any degree undervalued the persuasive power of the spoken word.

In the public worship on Sundays and festivals there was not always a sermon. When there was one, it was generally delivered in Latin, but there was no little preaching in the vulgar tongues. Certainly this was necessary in the case of the sermons that were designed to affect the common people, especially in the great crusading movements, and in the sermons intended to rouse the spirit of penitence in the masses. St. Bernard, for instance, is said to have preached in French, and there remain fragments of his sermons in that tongue which if they do not proceed from St. Bernard's own hand belong at least to his age. In the latter part of the Middle Ages preaching in the vernacular became very frequent. The sermon was, however, practically composed in Latin. The writers did all their theological thinking in that tongue, and in their attempts to expound the faith would naturally be governed not a little by its spirit. The sermons were translated into the vernacular, and the difficulty that inexperienced preachers found in this work of translation is seen in the handbooks and vocabularies that were prepared for the less experienced. Great importance was attached to the sermon as a means of edification, and not a few went so far as to regard it as a sin to neglect an opportunity of hearing sermons. The favorite

preachers aimed at very simple and direct treatment of the popular difficulties in leading the religious life, the sins into which the people were most liable to fall, and the need of the means of grace in overcoming the temptations that beset men. In this appeal to the common classes, there was a temptation not unlike that which caused the downfall of the Church oratory of the East: to meet the common people the preachers often found it easier to descend to the vulgarity of the masses than to lift the masses to their level. The people were fond of buffoonery, and not a little crept into the pulpit. Wit and amusing satire, however well directed and well intentioned, proved dangerous attractions; the sermons were enjoyed for themselves, on account of their piquant style, and the lesson to be enforced was too often but little heeded.

Adequately to represent the sermons of the later mediæval period is difficult. There is a vast amount that is of a high degree of excellence; many preachers of the same rank demand a place. Three selections, however, have been made, not merely because these selections are as good as anything that can be found, but because the authors are of three different positions in the Church. One of these is Anselm of Canterbury, an ecclesiastic of exalted station, even more renowned as a theologian than as a statesman; another is a monk

who was in his time the foremost man in Europe, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, upon whose word popes and emperors waited; the third is a popular preacher, a mystic, one who had no little influence upon the thought of Germany in later centuries, John Tauler. In one the so-called practical preacher is apparent, in another the ascetic, and in still another the dreamer, and all three are thoroughly characteristic of the age in which they lived — an age in which religion was a reality in the lives of all men, in which the powers of darkness were known as struggling for the possession of man's soul, and in which men sought in this life the immediate realization of the Infinite as the soul's true resting-place.

ST. PAUL

St. Paul was born at Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, a few years after the birth of Christ. The exact date cannot be given. The first notice of him is in connection with the martyrdom of St. Stephen, which probably took place in the year 37 A.D. He is here spoken of as a young man. His education was at Jerusalem in the school of the celebrated Rabbi Gamaliel, where he became proficient in the Jewish theology. His education in Greek literature is very uncertain and has been much overrated. Tarsus was a "university town," and St. Paul could not have escaped the influence of the thought around him.

About the year 45 A.D. Saul, for that was his original name, was converted to the Christian faith by what he himself always regarded as an actual appearance of Christ to him while he was on his way to Damascus. The fierce persecutor became in a moment the faithful disciple. In the year 45 A.D. he started from Antioch with St. Barnabas on a missionary journey throughout Asia Minor. From 50 A.D. to 54 A.D. he labored in Asia Minor and Greece. This time he was accompanied by Silas, Timothy, and St. Luke, who afterwards wrote an account of his travels and the early fortunes of the Church.

On his return from a third very successful missionary journey he went to Jerusalem, where he was cast into prison and remained there for several years. When he saw that there was little chance of being brought to trial, he availed himself of his right as a Roman citizen and appealed to the Emperor. He was thereupon sent to Rome. After a residence of two or three years in Rome, where he had considerable freedom and opportunity of preaching, he was beheaded under Nero in either 64 or 67 A.D.

St. Paul appears to have been a trained orator and writer.

left a few valuable sermons, of which one has found its way into the Breviary. Rabanus Maurus in Germany wrote sermons or homilies to be read in parish churches. Such might, at first sight, seem only an indication of the utter collapse of learning. On the contrary, it was significant of the determination on the part of the authorities that some instruction should be given the people. If the clergy were but little better educated than the laity, the use of these homilies might be an aid to original work,—an instruction to priest as well as to people.

If in any age it might seem excusable that the Church should neglect the art of preaching, it would have been in the ninth and tenth centuries, after the great revival under Charles the Great had run its course and the darkest period in European history was beginning. Very little could be expected of the clergy when Hincmar of Rheims found it necessary to require that each priest should be able to read fluently the Mass, the Commandments, the Epistles, and the Gospels. But the same century saw canons enacted in the Church councils requiring the bishops to preach in person. Works on the art of preaching, or Church oratory, were composed by the more learned, and the bishops were diligent in exhorting their priests to preach in their churches. The sermons that remain from this period are, as a

rule, very short and very dry. Their authors seem to have intended to produce a simple, clear impression, and effort was made not so much to stir the emotions as to inform the mind. Duties needed to be stated repeatedly in the plainest language. Errors needed to be pointed out without circumlocution. The faith had to be taught in its barest outlines; the vast mass of the people were to be held to the rudiments of Christian learning until they knew them. In connection with the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other necessary learning, a great deal of instruction was given and the fundamental facts of the faith impressed upon the mind. This is not the place to look for eloquence as it appears in the works of the great preachers of the Eastern Church. The auditor received on the whole exactly what he needed. However plain and even rude the preaching might have been at times, the result was the Mediæval Church with all its wonderful intellectual and spiritual power. Measured by its effect and its fitness to produce that effect, the eloquence of the Middle Ages, though not the eloquence of the schools, was a species of true eloquence.

The mediæval preachers labored under several disadvantages. The passion for allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures led men to an ingenuity that absorbed the attention but did not move the heart. The emotional element of the discourse,

that which transforms the cold logical presentation of a subject into eloquence, was lost in the maze of far-fetched interpretations. Even the logical consistency of the sermon was at times seriously disturbed by the vagaries of the exegesis. Another disadvantage under which the preacher labored was the custom of using as a text an extended passage of Scripture and expounding it in all its details. Every verse, every phrase even, was made to yield matter for edification. The skill of the allegorist rendered the most unpromising matter useful and turned to account what is overlooked by the more superficial students of modern times. But the complexity of the matter detracted immensely from the oratorical effect of the sermons. If the preacher had a clear proposition as the basis of his discourse which he aimed at expounding and enforcing, he was obliged at almost every turn to digress from the direct way and to take advantage of some opportunity of enforcing an important but irrelevant truth, at the cost of weakening his main object.

The great speeches of the Middle Ages, not distinctively homiletical in purpose and plan, are few in number. It was not an age much given to public discussion. The leaders of thought were the theologians and other ecclesiastics. They moulded the minds of men by the sermons in the Church service or by their counsel at the courts

"Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

And I said, "Who art Thou, Lord?"

And He said, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in Me."

Whereupon, O King Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision, but showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance. For these causes the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me.

Having, therefore, obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come: that Christ should suffer, and that He should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people and to the Gentiles.

ORIGEN

Origen, the greatest theologian of the Ante-Nicene period, was born of Christian parents at Alexandria, in the year 185 A.D. In 202 he lost his father, who died a martyr, and in the following year Origen was appointed teacher of the Catechetical School of which Clement had been the tutor. To fit himself for the duties of this position, he made most careful study of the current Neo-Platonic and the ancient philosophies, as well as the subjects usually taught in that seminary of theology. He became in this way the most learned man of his times, and by 218 his fame had become so great that the Empress Julia Mammæa summoned him to Antioch to explain to her the Christian religion. In 228 he was ordained priest while in Palestine, and for this breach of the canons the Bishop of Alexandria, for a long time jealous of his fame, deposed and excommunicated him. Origen thereupon removed to Cæsarea in 231, and opened a school which was wonderfully successful (see Gregory Thaumaturgus). Origen was imprisoned during the Decian persecution in 251, and died a martyr in Tyre in that year.

Origen's homilies on the New Testament are the earliest of his works that have been preserved. He is not an eloquent speaker, as his interests are largely intellectual and he does not touch the emotions. He is scientific rather than practical or popular. But he is not without passages of rare and touching beauty, and shows everywhere a keen insight into the problems of life.

Origen's writings are very numerous. They include the first systematic treatise on theology *(De Principiis)*; commentaries on nearly the entire Bible in Hebrew, with the Septuagint and other translations; and a refutation of the attack of the heathen writer Celsus upon the Christian faith, which is the greatest apologetical work of antiquity. The

best edition of Origen's works is that edited by De la Rue, Paris, 1733–1759, in 4 vols., folio, which has been reprinted by Migne. Another edition is by Lommatzsch, Berlin, 1831, in 25 vols. The best works on Origen are : Redepenning, *Origenes*, 2 vols., Bonn, 1841–1846, and Denis, *Philosophie d' Origen*, 1884. See also Pressense, *Martyrs and Apologists*, (translated by Harwood) ; Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, 1886. Translations have been made of a number of important works of Origen in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* of T. and T. Clark and the Christian Literature Company.

THE PARABLE OF THE DRAG-NET

Origen.

The Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew was written between the years 246 and 248, immediately after Origen had removed to Cæsarea in Palestine. According to his habit, Origen preached constantly and covered whole books of the Bible in series of sermons. Of these, the commentary on the first Gospel is the earliest. It may indeed be said to be the first book extant that was delivered as a series of discourses. The following selection is from the tenth book of this work, and illustrates as well the weak as the strong points of Origen's style. The attempt to explain every detail of the text and the necessity of digressing from the main subject detract not a little from the unity of the work. This was a weakness, however, under which all the early homilies labored.

"*Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea.*"—Matt. xiii., 47.

JUST as in images and statues likenesses are not to be accepted in every particular as likenesses of those things which they represent; but, for instance, an image painted with wax on a plane surface of wood preserves the likeness in contour and in color, but does not further preserve the mould of the features, giving only a representation of them; and on the other hand the sculptor's art attempts to preserve likeness in form, but not also in color; while if the image be made of wax it attempts to preserve both — I mean likeness

in both color and form — but does not indeed preserve the likeness of what is beneath the surface: so consider that in the Gospel similitudes the kingdom of heaven is not in every respect like the thing compared, but the comparison extends only to certain particulars demanded by the end in view.

In this passage, accordingly, the kingdom of heaven is "like unto a net which was cast into the sea"; the evil and good are not treated of (as some fancy, who assert that by this expression are meant the different natures of those who have come into the net), for then the phrase, "gathered of every kind," would imply that there are included many different natures of the good and also of the evil. The Scriptures forbid such an interpretation, emphasizing the freedom of the will, censuring those who sin, commending those who do right; since otherwise censure could not apply to those who were bad by nature, nor praise to those that were good. For the reason that fishes are good or bad lies not in the nature of the fishes themselves, but is based on that which the Omnipotent Word said: "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creatures that have life"; and again, "God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind." In that place, accordingly, "the waters brought

forth every living creature that moveth, after their kind." But here we are ourselves responsible for being good kinds and worthy of what are called "vessels," so to speak; or for being bad kinds, deserving only to be cast aside. For in us our nature is not the cause of evil, but it is voluntary choice that worketh evil; similarly, our nature is not the cause of righteousness, as being incapable of unrighteousness, but it is the Word which we have received that maketh men righteous; for you cannot see the living creatures of the waters changing from bad kinds to good—as fishes, for example—or from the better to the worse; but the good and the bad among men you can always observe either changing from vice to virtue, or turning back from the pursuit of virtue to the mire of wickedness. Wherefore in Ezekiel, regarding the man who turns from wickedness to the observance of the divine mandates, it is thus written: "But if the wicked man will turn from all the wickedness that he hath committed," and so forth, down to the words, "that he should turn from his wickedness and live"; but in regard to the man who turns back from the pursuit of virtue to the allurements of vice it is said: "But when the righteous man turns away from his righteousness and committeth iniquity," and so forth, down to the words, "in his sins that he hath sinned, in them shall he die." Let those who,

Now, in accordance with what has been said, we must consider that the kingdom of heaven is likened unto "a net that was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind," with a view to showing the variety of motives prevailing among men ; which differ from each other as much as possible, so that the expression "gathered of every kind" embraces natures both laudable and reprehensible in regard to their proclivities toward the various forms of virtue and of vice ; and the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a net of varied texture, in reference to the Old and New Testaments, woven together of thoughts of every kind and variety. And just as in the case of fishes caught in a net some are found in one part of the net and some in another, and each in the part in which it was caught : so, in the case of those caught in the net of the Scriptures, you will find that some have been caught in the net of the prophets — of Isaiah, for example, or of Jeremiah, or of David ; others in sooth in the net of the law, others in that of the Gospels, and others in that of the Apostles. For when one is first caught, or seems to be caught, by the Word, he is caught in some part of the whole net. Moreover, it is nothing remarkable if some of the fishes caught are entwined in the whole texture of the net of the Scriptures, and are held in and enclosed on every side, and cannot escape ; but are, so to

speak, completely enslaved, and have no power whatever of escape. Moreover, this net was cast into the sea,— presumably the life of man,— tossed by the waves, in all parts of the world, and floating amid the bitter occurrences of life.

And this net, before the coming of our Savior Jesus Christ, was not entirely filled; for to complete the meshes of the law and the prophets, there was yet lacking Him who said: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." And the texture of the net has been completed in the Gospels and in the words which Christ spake through His holy Apostles. For these reasons, therefore, "the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind." Likewise the expression, "gathered of every kind," apart from what has been said, may signify the calling of the Gentiles of every race.

Those who look after the net cast into the sea are Jesus Christ, the Lord of the net, and "the angels who came and ministered unto Him"; who do not draw the net out of the sea, nor drag it upon the shore away from the sea,— that is, away from the affairs of every-day life,— until the net has been completely filled, that is, until "the fulness of the Gentiles" has come into it. But when that time comes, then they draw the net

from the lower and more terrestrial things, and bear it to what is figuratively called the shore. Then it will be the task of the angels, who drew the net to land, to take their position by the shore, and to put each of the good into its own place, in what are in the Scriptures called "vessels"; but to cast the bad "without." This "without" is "the furnace of fire," as the Savior interpreted, saying, "So shall it be in the end of the world; the angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire." Only it must be observed that by the parable of the tares, and the similitude there presented, we are taught that this authority is imposed upon the angels, namely, to distinguish and to divide the wicked from the righteous; as it is said above, "The Son of Man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of the kingdom all things that cause stumbling and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." But here it is said: "The angels shall come forth, and shall sever the wicked from the righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire."

From this, moreover, it does not follow, as some suppose, that men who forsooth are saved in Christ are superior to the holy angels. For how can those who by the holy angels are cast

into vessels be compared with those by whom they are cast into vessels, seeing that they are subject to their authority? Though we say this, yet we are not ignorant that the men who will be saved in Christ are superior to some angels, namely, those to whom this task has not been committed; but not to all: for we read, "Which things angels desire to behold," where it is not said, "all angels"; and we also know that "we shall judge angels," where it is not said, "all angels."

Now since these things have been written about the net, and about those who are gathered into the net, he who wishes, before the end of the world and the coming of the angels, to separate the wicked from among the righteous, in order that there may be no evil persons "of every kind" in the net, seems to have missed the sense of the Scriptures and to desire the impossible. Wherefore let it cause us no wonder if, before the wicked are separated from among the righteous by the angels sent for the purpose, we shall see our assemblies filled with evil persons. And may those who are cast into the furnace of fire not be more in number than the righteous!

Moreover, as we said in the beginning that likeness and similitude are not to be applied in every particular to the things with which they are likened and compared, but in some only, so we

must further demonstrate from what is said that in the case of fishes, as far as their life is concerned, an evil happens to them when they are caught in the net; for they are deprived of the life which is theirs by nature; and whether they are cast into vessels, or are cast without, they suffer nothing more than the loss of the life which pertains to fishes. In the case of those, however, to whom the parable refers, the evil lies in continuing in the sea and not coming into the net, so that they may be cast into vessels with the good. But the bad, according to the similitude which we are considering, are cast into "the furnace of fire," that what is said in Ezekiel about the furnace of fire may overtake them, namely: "And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Behold, the house of Israel is become to me all mixed with brass and iron," down to the words, "and ye shall know that I the Lord have poured my fury upon you."

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

Gregory, surnamed Thaumaturgus, was born of heathen parents of noble rank and considerable wealth, about the beginning of the third century, in Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus. He was in youth educated for a legal career, and in the course of his studies went with his brother to Cæsarea in Palestine. Here he met Origen, then in the fulness of his fame and usefulness, and was much impressed by that great teacher, who, when he had interested Gregory in philosophy, was able so to win his love that almost insensibly he became a disciple of the Christian religion. The career of advocate and orator, for which Gregory had fitted himself by long study, was henceforth closed for him. On his return to Neo-Cæsarea, he was, in spite of his genuine reluctance to assume the responsibilities of the office, elected and consecrated Bishop of his native city (about 240 A.D.). His evangelical labors among the heathen of his diocese were most successful, and he was beloved and respected by heathen and Christian alike. During the Decian persecution (252), he retired from his see-city, but returned immediately after the close of the persecution, and continued his work until his death, probably a little before 265. His immense reputation in the early Church was due very largely to his fame as a worker of miracles; hence the name, Thaumaturgus, or wonder-worker.

Gregory has left one perfect specimen of his eloquence, and this, the Panegyric on Origen, is universally regarded as one of the choicest works of antiquity. He is, undoubtedly, the greatest orator in the Ante-Nicene period. To him we are indebted for the first great oration of the Church as distinguished from a running comment upon a passage of Scripture. The artistically planned discourse would of necessity have appeared sooner or later in the Church. It appeared,

however, almost at the same time as the earliest extant scriptural homilies, and, owing no doubt to classical examples before its author and to his training and preparation, its appearance was in relatively much greater perfection than the first homilies.

The works of Gregory Thaumaturgus other than the Panegyric on Origen are of much less value than that masterpiece. They have been printed by Migne in his *Patrologia Græca,* vol. x., pp. 983–1206, from the text of Gallandus, and have been translated into English by the Rev. S. D. F. Salmond, for the Ante-Nicene Library, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh (1871). Outside the references in Church Histories there are but few works on Gregory. The most elaborate is perhaps the small book by Victor Ryssel : *Gregorius Thaumaturgus, Sein Leben und seine Schriften,* Leipsic, 1880. H. R. Reynolds has a good account of Gregory in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*

PANEGYRIC ON ORIGEN

[Selection.] *Gregory Thaumaturgus.*

The occasion of the discourse from which the following selection has been made was the departure of Gregory from Cæsarea in Palestine (about 238 A.D.) after he had enjoyed for several years the instruction of Origen. It was delivered before a large company assembled for the purpose of honoring Origen, who was present during the delivery. The entire oration is very long, and the interesting account of Origen's method of instruction, which deserves to be examined from the standpoint of pedagogy, has been omitted. A few other discourses have been attributed to Gregory, but they are of much less merit and of doubtful genuineness,— they are certainly far inferior to the Panegyric.

INGRATITUDE appears to me a grievous offence — grievous, yea, the most grievous of offences. For if one has received some kindness, failure to attempt to make any return, by at least the oral expression of his gratitude where nothing more is possible, brands him as a man insensible to benefits or devoid of memory. Again, though one be sensible of kindness and conscious of the benefits received, yet unless he retain in memory to future days the kindnesses bestowed, and show some feeling of obligation to the source of his blessings, such a person is obtuse, ungrateful, impious. He is guilty of an offence which cannot be overlooked, either in the case of the great or in

that of the small: if, for instance, a great and noble man should fail to acknowledge with all gratitude and honor the great benefits which he has received; or if a mean and contemptible man should not with all zeal praise and magnify his benefactor, not simply for great services, but also for small ones.

Upon the great and the learned, therefore, it is incumbent, from their greater resources and larger possessions, to render in proportion to their ability greater and more illustrious praises to their benefactors. But it is becoming to the poor and humble also neither to be neglectful nor indifferent toward those who have done them kindness, nor to despair if they can offer in return nothing worthy or perfect; but though poor indeed, yet, as grateful in heart and as measuring not the resources of him whom they honor, but only their own, they ought to render him gratitude according to their present ability — a tribute which will without doubt be acceptable and pleasing to the benefactor, and no less highly regarded by him than it would have been if it had been some magnificent offering, provided that it be presented with becoming zeal and with an honest heart.

Thus it is related in the Holy Scriptures that a certain poor and humble widow, when the rich and mighty were contributing of their abundance, alone of all cast in a small, yea, the smallest gift,

which was, however, all she possessed, and received the commendation of having given more than they all. For, as I judge, the Holy Scriptures measure the value and excellence of the offering, not by the amount given, but rather by the heart and disposition of the giver. Wherefore it does not behoove us in any manner to shirk this responsibility with the vain fear that the tokens of our gratitude may not be adequate to the benefits which we have received ; but, on the other hand, we ought to dare and attempt everything ; so that, though we do not offer adequate returns, yet we have done to the extent of our power. And may my discourse in honor of Origen, even though it fall short of what the occasion demands, yet in some degree measure up to the standard, and at least escape all appearance of ingratitude. . . .

From the time of my birth, my training was under the care of my parents ; and the manner of life in my father's house was one of error. From this, I fancy, no one anticipated that I should be delivered, nor was there in me any expectation of this, boy and void of understanding that I was, and under the instructions of a superstitious father. Then came the loss of my father and my orphanhood ; which was perchance to me the beginning of the knowledge of the truth. For then I was for the first time brought over to the Word of truth and salvation, in what manner I know not,

attempting to slip out and escape, we were bent on deserting him and making off to Berytus or our native land, he endeavored in every manner to restrain us and bind us to him. To that end he directed all kinds of arguments, he set every rope in motion, he bent all his energies. With that intent, he lauded philosophy and its votaries with many fitting encomiums. He asserted that they alone live well and follow a manner of life truly worthy of beings endowed with reason, who endeavor to lead an upright life and to first of all know themselves, what manner of men they are. He next recounted the truly good things which man should seek to attain, and the really evil things which man ought to avoid. Then he censured ignorance and all the ignorant, of whom there is a vast throng; who, like dumb beasts, are darkened in their understanding and have no knowledge of what they are, and have wandered far astray, as if wholly bereft of reason; they neither themselves know the nature of good and evil, nor do they care to learn it from others; they struggle eagerly for wealth and reputation and political honors and bodily comforts, as if these were the real good; esteeming those things of value, yea, as surpassing all else, they prize the arts by which they can be acquired and the different lines of life which lead to them; namely, the military profession, and the forensic, and the study and

practice of law. These are the things, he adroitly added, which enervate and keep us ignorant, when we despise the reason which ought to rule in us.

I cannot tell how many addresses of this kind he made to induce us to undertake the study of philosophy. Nor was it only for a single day that he thus discoursed with us, but for many days; in fact, as often as we went to him at the beginning; and from the very first we were transfixed with his discourse on our arrival (for he was a rare combination of sweetness and grace and persuasion and a certain irresistibleness), though still somehow wavering and debating with ourselves. We adhered to the pursuit of philosophy, though not wholly converted to it, while yet somehow unable to entirely withdraw from it; and thus we were always drawn toward him by his addresses as by some superior power.

He further declared that no one could be truly devout toward the common Lord of all, apart from philosophy—a gift with which man alone of all the creatures of the earth has been honored; and a gift which every man whatsoever, whether wise or ignorant,—unless he has lost all his intelligence through some mental obliquity,—reasonably embraces. He accordingly affirmed that no one who did not devote himself to philosophy could be at all pious; until at length, by instilling into us

many such arguments one after another, he overcame us by his arts and indissolubly joined us to himself, as if by some divine power.

Moreover, the stimulus of personal devotion was brought to bear upon us,— an influence not easily resisted, but subtle and most effective,— the argument of kindliness and benignity and affection, which manifested themselves when he mingled with us and conversed with us. For he did not aim merely to get the better of us by his arguments ; his endeavor was, through prudence and affection and kindness, to save us and make us partakers of the blessings of philosophy, and especially of those other blessings with which God had endowed him beyond most men, or we may say beyond all other men of our time : I mean the power which inculcates piety, the saving Word which comes indeed to many, and subjugates all upon whom it falls ; for there is nothing which can resist it, which both is, and is to be, king of all ; although indeed it is hidden and is not recognizable either with ease or with difficulty by the many, so that when questioned they can speak of it with knowledge. Then, like some spark illumining our inmost soul, love was enkindled and grew bright within us, both for the Sacred Word— most lovable of all things, soothing all by its ineffable beauty — and toward this man, His friend and interpreter. I was most violently smitten by

this love, and I persuaded myself to despise all those objects and pursuits which seem becoming to us; even the practice of law, of which I had been so proud; yea, even my native land and my friends, both those who were then present with me and those whom I had left behind. And one object only seemed to me lovable and worthy of desire: philosophy, and that master of philosophy, this inspired man.

"And the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David." It was not until afterward that I read this passage in the Holy Scriptures, but I experienced it before that time none the less keenly, as if it had been pronounced by the clearest of all revelations. For it was not simply Jonathan that was knit with David; but their very souls, which are the ruling powers in man; things which, though all the visible parts of man be severed, cannot by any force be separated when they themselves are unwilling. Indeed, the soul is free, and cannot be forced by any means; not even if you confine it and guard it in a prison. For where the intelligence is, there, by its own nature and by the first reason, is the soul; but if it seems to you to be in a prison, it is conceived by you to be there by a sort of second reason. But for all that, it cannot be precluded from being there where it wishes; but rather it can only be, and is reasonably believed to be, wheresoever and

in connection with what things soever the actions peculiar to it alone are in operation.

Wherefore, what happened to me has been very clearly set forth in this brief statement that "the soul of Jonathan was knit to the soul of David"; things which, as I have said, cannot be separated in any manner against their will, and which of their own inclination will not easily agree to separation. Nor is it, I imagine, in the power of the inferior, who is capricious and inclined to vary in purpose, to loose the sacred bond of this affection; in whom alone there was not the capacity for union at first; but it is rather in the superior one, who is steadfast and not readily shaken, and through whom the welding of those bonds and the tying of that sacred knot was possible. Consequently it is not the soul of David which is knit by the divine Word to the soul of Jonathan; but, on the contrary, the soul of the inferior is thus affected and is said to be knit with the soul of David. For the superior, since it is self-sufficient, would not desire to be knit with the inferior; but the inferior, which is in need of the help of the nobler, ought properly to be knit with the nobler; so that the latter, still retaining its self-sufficiency, might suffer no loss from its union with the inferior; and the former, which is of itself undisciplined, being bound and joined with the stronger, might be subdued to the stronger by the constraint of such bonds.

Wherefore the uniting of the bonds is the part of the superior, not the inferior ; but to be knit to the other is the part of the inferior ; and that so firmly as not to be able to loose itself from the bonds. By a similar tie did this David of ours bind us to himself, and he has held us captive ever since that time ; nor, if we wished, could we loose ourselves from his bonds. And not even if we should go away would he release those souls of ours, which, as the Holy Scripture puts it, he holds so firmly knit unto himself. . . .

To speak briefly, he was in very truth a paradise to us, after the similitude of that paradise of God ; in which indeed it was not our task to cultivate the soil beneath us, nor to become gross by nourishing the body ; but it was granted us to increase the resources of our minds with all gladness and delight, planting, so to speak, ourselves some beautiful growths, or having them planted in us by the Author of all things.

Here truly is the paradise of enjoyment ; here are truly delights and gladness, as we have ever enjoyed them in the period which has just elapsed —no short time indeed in itself, yet too short, if this is really to be its conclusion, when we shall separate and depart hence. For I know not from what misfortune, from what fault of mine it comes, that I should now depart, that I should now be expelled. . . .

It is related that enemies once attacked a great and sacred city, in which God was worshipped, and carried off its inhabitants, both singers and priests, into captivity in their own country, which was Babylon; and that these captives, when they were held in bondage, refused, even when asked by their captors, to sing the songs of Zion or to play in a strange land; but they hung their harps on the willows, and wept by the rivers of Babylon. I seem to myself to be like one of that number, driven by force from this sacred city and fatherland of mine, where by day and by night the holy oracles are proclaimed, and hymns and songs and spiritual discourses are heard; where also the sunlight is perpetual, both by day, as we discourse on the divine mysteries, and by night, when in dreams we are still engaged with what the soul has said and done during the day; and where, in short, the divine afflatus perpetually pervades all. From this city, I say, I am driven out; I am borne away captive to a strange land, where I shall not be able to pipe, for I shall, like those of old, hang my instrument of music on the willows; and I shall pass my time by the river, and I shall have to work in mud, and I shall be unwilling to sing hymns, though I remember them; and it may perhaps be that, through other occupation, I shall forget everything, robbed and bereft of memory itself. Would that, in going away, I only went

away against my will, as a captive! but I depart constrained not by another, but by myself, it being possible to remain. And perchance in setting out I shall be taking no safe journey, as sometimes happens when one leaves some secure and peaceful city; and it is indeed probable that in making the journey I shall fall among thieves and be taken prisoner, and be stripped and wounded with many stripes, and be cast aside, to lie half-dead on the roadside.

But why do I indulge in such lamentations? There lives indeed the Savior of all men, even of the half-dead and of those despoiled by thieves; the Guardian and Physician of all, the Sacred Word, the sleepless Keeper of all. There are also the seeds of truth which thou hast taught us to have and hold, and whatever else we have received from thee; those noble admonitions and precepts, with which we set out on our journey; and though we indeed weep, as those who set forth on a journey, yet we bear with us those seeds. Perchance, then, our Keeper who presides over us will guard us; perchance we shall again come to thee, bringing with us the fruits and handfuls yielded by these seeds, far indeed from perfect (for how could they be that?), but still such as it is possible to produce from the acts of civil life, though marred by a faculty either altogether fruitless or prone to bear bad fruits, yet one

not destined, I trust, to be further misused, if God grant us His favor.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, was born in 274 A.D. at Naissus in Mœsia. His father subsequently became associated with the Emperor Diocletian in the imperial government, and the son thus obtained an admirable military training. On the death of his father in 306, Constantine assumed the title and authority of Emperor of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and after the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 became undisputed ruler of the West. It is said that he became converted to Christianity about this time, but it seems to have been more a matter of policy than of religious conviction. In 313 he granted toleration to the Christians, and Licinius, his heathen colleague, was induced to agree to the extension of this important edict throughout the Empire. After a truce of nine years, war broke out between the allied Emperors, Constantine proving successful. In 325, during the closing years of his life, the Emperor took an active part in the deliberations of the celebrated Council of Nicæa, and three years later founded Constantinople, having abandoned Rome after the cruel murder of Crispus, his eldest son. Constantine was baptized on his death-bed by the Arian bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia. He died in 337.

Constantine was a man of no great learning, but he had an energetic and forceful manner, and was much given to making speeches. These he delivered principally before the members of his court. Many of his speeches were extant at one time, but few which are genuine remain. The most elaborate is the Oration to the Saints. There seems to be little doubt that he was impelled to speech less by motives of vanity than by a conscientious desire to instruct his people. His style was somewhat inflated and verbose.

There is no complete critical edition of the works of Constantine. The best is to be found in Migne's *Patrologia*

Latina, vol. viii. The principal accounts of the life of the Emperor are taken from the *Life of Constantine,* by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and the *Historia* of Zosimus. See also Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen,* and de Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire Romain du IVme siècle.* In the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* there are excellent articles on Constantine and his mother, Helena. An admirable bibliography will be found in the edition of Eusebius published by the Christian Literature Company (New York, 1890).

ON THE COMING OF OUR LORD IN THE FLESH

[Selection.] *Constantine the Great.*

The oration from which the following selection is taken was one of the many delivered by the Emperor Constantine on religious subjects. It was originally composed in Latin, and was then rendered into Greek by official translators, as Constantine was not proficient in the latter language. The oration appears to have been delivered on Good Friday, but the year is uncertain. It has been placed as early as 324, but there are indications of a later date. It is very long, and shows no little dependence upon Lactantius and other writers for its thoughts.

LET him who has followed a course inconsistent with a virtuous life, and who is sensible that he has lived an irregular and disorderly existence, now repent and turn with illumined soul-sight to God; and let him turn from his bygone career of sin, glad if even in his old age he can achieve wisdom. But we have not obtained aid from men's teachings; nay, any ornaments of character which are by wise men esteemed as worthy are entirely the gift of God. And it is no weak shield that I am able to oppose to the fatal weapons of Satan's armory — I mean the knowledge which is mine of those things which please Him; and I will choose from these those which

comport with my present plan, while I proceed to sing the praises of the Father of all men. But thou, O Christ, Savior of men, be with me to help me in my sacred task. Guide the speech which lauds Thy goodness, and teach me to fitly sound Thy praise. And now, let no man expect to hear the graces of ornate language; for I am well aware that the lifeless eloquence of those who speak solely to please the ear, and whose end is rather to win applause than to utter sound argument, is unpleasing to hearers whose judgment is good.

Some profane and foolish persons assert that Christ, whom we worship, was rightfully sentenced to death, and that He who is the Author of all life was Himself deprived of life. It is not surprising that such a thing should be said by those who have once ventured to tread the paths of impiety, who have cast aside all fear and all wish to hide their vileness. But it passes the limits of folly itself that they, as seems to be the case, can actually persuade themselves that the Omnipotent God yielded to the strength of men, and not rather only to that love which He felt for humanity; that they can fail to see that divine mercy and forbearance is not changed to wrath, or moved from its characteristic steadfastness, by any insults; but is always the same, by the spirit of wisdom and grandeur of soul

overcoming and repelling the savage ferocity of those who attack it.

The loving-kindness of God had determined to blot out sin and to establish order and justice. Therefore He brought together a company of the wisest of men, and gave them that grand and useful doctrine, which is prone to cause worthy and good men to imitate His own providential care. And what greater blessing than this can be imagined, that God should prescribe the way of goodness and make like Himself those who are esteemed worthy of being taught; that righteousness should be disseminated among all classes of humanity, and the result be everlasting happiness? This is the great victory; this is the real power; this is the mighty work, worthy of its Author — the restoration of all men to sanity; and we gladly ascribe the glory of this triumph to Thee, Savior of all men.

But thou, vile and miserable blasphemy, that gloriest in lies and calumnies, thy power deceives and prevails over youthful inexperience and over those men who are still foolish with youthful folly. Thou drawest these men from the service of the true God, and thou establishest false idols as the objects of their service and supplications; and thus the guerdon of their folly waits for thy deluded victims; for they slander Christ, the source of every good, who is God and the Son

of God. Is not the worship of the noblest and wisest peoples of this earth worthily given to that God who, holding unlimited power, remains steadfastly true to His own purpose and keeps unimpaired His natural goodness and love to mankind? Begone, then, ye impious ones! for ye may do so while vengeance of your sins is still withheld; begone to your sacrifices, your banquets, your revels, and orgies, in which your souls devote themselves to profligacy under the guise of piety, and while you pretend to offer sacrifices, you are willing slaves to your own lusts. Ye have no knowledge of any good thing, even of the first commandment of Almighty God, which both speaks to mankind His will and commissions His Son to order the manner of human existence, that those who have pursued a virtuous and regulated life may have, by the judgment of that Son, another, yea, a blessed and beatific existence. I have now set forth the ordinance of God concerning the life which He prescribes to men; not ignorantly, as has been the case with many others, nor based on the foundation of theory or surmise.

But some may ask, whence comes this title of Son? Whence comes this begetting which is spoken of, if God be indeed One only and impossible of union with any other? But we must look at conception as being of two descriptions: that of natural birth, which is known to everybody,

and that which is the effect of an eternal cause, the method of which is known to the wisdom of God and by those men whom He favors. For the wise man will see the cause which regulates the harmony of creation. As, then, there is nothing without a cause, the cause of those things which exist necessarily preceded their existence. So, as the world and all its contents exist and are maintained, their maintainer must have had a precedent existence; so that Christ is the cause of maintenance, and the maintenance of things is an effect — just as the Father is the cause of the Son and the Son the effect of that cause. So that enough has been said to show Christ's prior existence. But how can we explain His coming down to this world and to mankind? His reason for this, as foretold by the prophets, came from His watchful care for the welfare of all men; for the Creator must care for His own creations. So when the time came that He should put on an earthly body and live in this world because there was need, He devised a new kind of birth for Himself. There was conception, yet without marriage; birth, yet pure virginity; and a maiden became the mother of God. An eternal nature had a beginning of temporal existence; there appeared a tangible form of a spiritual essence, a material revelation of immaterial radiance. Equally marvellous were the circumstances which attended

this great event. A radiant dove, such as that which flew from the ark of Noah, alighted on the bosom of the Virgin ; and the results which followed were in accordance with this intangible union, purer than chastity, more sinless than innocence.

Possessing from infancy the wisdom of God ; received with reverent awe by the Jordan, in whose stream He was baptized ; anointed with that kingly unction, the spirit of universal knowledge ; having knowledge and power to perform miracles and to cure diseases which were past the aid of human skill ; He gave an instant and unconditional assent to the supplications of humanity, to whose benefit His whole life was indeed unreservedly devoted. His teachings did not only instil prudence, but true wisdom ; his listeners were not only taught the social virtues, but the paths which lead to the world of spirit ; and they gave themselves up to meditation upon unchangeable and eternal affairs, and to the knowledge of the Supreme Father. The benefits which He gave were not ordinary blessings : for blindness, He gave the gift of sight ; for helpless feebleness, the strength of health ; for death, restoration to life. I will not dwell on that bountiful provision in the wilderness, by which a small amount of food became a full and lasting supply for the needs of the multitude.

Thus do we give thanks unto Thee, our God and Savior, according to our feeble ability; unto Thee, O Christ, supreme Providence of the Almighty Father, who both savest us from sin and givest us Thy most blessed doctrine: for I do not speak these things to laud, but to render thanks. For what mortal man shall worthily praise Thee, of whom we are told that Thou didst summon the world into being from nothing, and illuminated it with Thy light; that Thou didst, by the law of harmony and order, regulate the chaos of the elements? But we principally see Thy beneficence in having caused those whose hearts turn to Thee to earnestly crave a divine and holy life, and in ordaining that they should, as merchants of true benefits, impart to many others the wisdom and happiness which they themselves have received; they in the meantime reaping the eternal fruits of righteousness. Freed from the shackles of vice and filled with love for man, they always keep mercy before their eyes, and they hope for the realization of the promises of faith; they are devoted to modesty and to all those virtues which their past life had disregarded, but which are now restored by Him whose care extends over all men. There could be found no other power to provide a cure for such ills and for that spirit of injustice which had hitherto exerted dominance over mankind. But Providence could even here reach the

circumstances and easily re-order all that had been disturbed by the violence and lawlessness of human desires.

And He exercised this power of restoration without concealment. For although there were some minds that were able to recognize and comprehend His power, He knew that there were others whose brutal and foolish natures led them to rely exclusively on the witness of their own senses. In full day, therefore, so that no one, whether good or bad, could find cause for doubt, He manifested His blessed and marvellous power of healing ; bringing the dead again to life, and with a word restoring the faculties of those deprived of mental power.

In short, can we imagine that to make the sea as firm as the solid earth, to quiet the raging of the tempest, and finally, after by the performance of these miracles changing the unbelief of mankind into steadfast faith, to ascend into heaven, called for less than omnipotent power, and was the work of other than God ? Nor was the hour of His passion unaccompanied by similar marvels : when the sun was darkened and the shadows of night obscured the light of day. Then in every place fear, and the belief that the end of all things had come and that chaos, as had existed before creation's order began, would again prevail, laid hold upon the people. Then also was sought the

cause of so awful an evil, and in what way the sins of mankind had provoked the anger of Heaven; until God Himself, who with calm dignity looked upon the arrogance of the wicked, restored the aspect of heaven and adorned it with the starry hosts. Thus the clouded face of nature was restored to its former loveliness.

Translated by the Editors of this volume.

ATHANASIUS

Athanasius was born at Alexandria, about 297 A.D. Of his family nothing is known. At an early age he attracted the attention of Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria, who employed him as his secretary and superintended his education with the view to his entrance into the ministry. He was present at the Council of Nicæa, in 325, as attendant of Alexander, and being permitted to take part in its discussions, distinguished himself by his erudition and eloquence. At the death of Alexander in 326, he was elected to the primacy of Alexandria. Owing to his opposition to the restoration to communion of Arius the heretic, Athanasius was in 336 deposed from office and banished to Treves. In 338, he was restored to his primacy by Constantius, but the enmity of the Arians forced him to fly from Alexandria for safety on several occasions. He was finally restored to the primacy by the Emperor Valens, and died in office in 373.

As a theologian Athanasius is distinguished principally by his advocacy of the essential divinity of Christ as co-equal in substance with the Father. His other writings are either historical or moral. His style is simple, forceful, and clear.

The most important of the writings of Athanasius are the *Discourses against the Arians,* written among the solitudes of Upper Egypt. Other well-known works are the *Festal Letters,* the epistles in defence of the Nicene Creed, and the *Apologia de Fuga.* The most complete edition of his works is that published at Padua in 1777. Cardinal Newman's translations of the epistles of Athanasius (Oxford, 1842) are interesting and valuable.

CHRIST THE ETERNAL GOD

Athanasius.

The following sermon is a most admirable example of the best style of St. Athanasius. While there is much in it, as in most of the sermons of the day, which sounds strange to modern ears, there is also an earnestness, a certainty of conviction, and an uncompromising exposition of truth as it seemed to the preacher, which might serve as a model for the present day and for all time to come.

"Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness; therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.

"All Thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes, and cassia, out of the ivory palaces, whereby they have made Thee glad."—Psalm xlv., 7, 8.

BEHOLD, O ye Arians, and acknowledge even hence the truth. The Psalmist speaks of us all as fellows or partakers of the Lord, but were He one of things which come out of nothing, and of things originate, He Himself had been one of those who partake. But, since he hymned Him as the eternal God, saying, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," and has declared that all other things partake of Him, what conclusion must we draw but that He is distinct from originate things, and He only the Father's veritable Word, Radiance, and Wisdom, of which all things originate partake, being

sanctified by Him in the Spirit? And, therefore, He is here "anointed," not that He may become God, for He was so even before; nor that He may become King, for He had the kingdom eternally, existing as God's image, as the sacred oracle shows; but in our behalf is this written, as before. For the Israelitish kings, upon their being anointed, then became kings, not being so before, as David, as Hezekiah, as Josiah, and the rest; but the Savior, on the contrary, being God, and ever ruling in the Father's kingdom, and being Himself the Dispenser of the Holy Ghost, nevertheless is here said to be anointed, that, as before, being said as man to be anointed with the Spirit, He might provide for us men, not only exaltation and resurrection, but the indwelling and intimacy of the Spirit. And signifying this, the Lord Himself hath said by His own mouth, in the Gospel according to John, "I have sent them into the world, and for their sakes do I sanctify Myself, that they may be sanctified in the truth." In saying this, He has shown that He is not the sanctified, but the Sanctifier; for He is not sanctified by other, but Himself sanctifies Himself, that we may be sanctified in the truth. He who sanctifies Himself is Lord of sanctification. How, then, does this take place? What does he mean but this: "I being the Father's Word, I give to Myself, when become man, the Spirit; and Myself, become man, do I sanctify in Him, that

henceforth in Me, who am truth (for Thy Word is truth), all may be sanctified."

If, then, for our sake He sanctifies Himself, and does this when He becomes man, it is very plain that the Spirit's descent on Him in Jordan was a descent upon us, because of His bearing our body. And it did not take place for promotion to the Word, but again for our sanctification, that we might share His anointing, and of us it might be said, "Know ye not that ye are God's temple, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" For when the Lord, as man, was washed in Jordan, it was we who were washed in Him and by Him. And when He received the Spirit, we it was who, by Him, were made recipients of It. And, moreover, for this reason, not as Aaron, or David, or the rest, was He anointed with oil, but in another way, above all His fellows, with the oil of gladness, which He Himself interprets to be the Spirit, saying by the prophet, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because the Lord hath anointed Me"; as also the Apostle has said how "God anointed Him with the Holy Ghost." When, then, were these things spoken of Him, but when He came in the flesh, and was baptized in Jordan, and the Spirit descended on Him? And, indeed, the Lord Himself said, "The Spirit shall take of Mine, and I will send Him"; and to His disciples, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." And, notwithstanding, He who, as the

Word and Radiance of the Father, gives to others, now is said to be sanctified, because now He has become man, and the body that is sanctified is His. From Him, then, we have begun to receive the unction and the seal, John saying, "And ye have an unction from the Holy One." Therefore, because of us, and for us, are these words.

What advance, then, of promotion and reward of virtue, or generally of conduct, is proved from this in our Lord's instance? For if He was not God, and then had become God—if, not being king, He was preferred to the kingdom,—your reasoning would have had some faint plausibility. But if He is God and the throne of His kingdom is everlasting, in what way could God advance? Or what was there wanting to Him who was sitting on His Father's throne? And if, as the Lord Himself has said, the Spirit is His, and takes of His, and He sends it, it is not the Word, considered as the Word and Wisdom, who is anointed with the Spirit, which He Himself gives, but the flesh assumed by Him, which is anointed in Him and by Him; that the sanctification coming to the Lord as man, may come to all men from Him. For, not of Itself, saith He, doth the Spirit speak, but the Word is He who gives It to the worthy. For that is like the passage considered above; for as the Apostle hath written, "Who, existing in form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but

humbled Himself, and took a servant's form," so David celebrates the Lord, as the everlasting God and King, but sent to us and assuming our body, which is mortal. For this is his meaning in the Psalm, "All Thy garments smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia"; and it is represented by Nicodemus' and by Mary's company, when the one came, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pounds weight, and the others the spices which they had prepared for the burial of the Lord's body.

What advancement, then, was it to the Immortal to have assumed the mortal? Or what promotion is it to the Everlasting to have put on the temporal? What reward can be great to the Everlasting God and King, in the bosom of the Father? See ye not that this, too, was done and written because of us and for us, that us, who are mortal and temporal, the Lord, become man, might make immortal, and bring into the everlasting kingdom of heaven? Blush ye not, speaking lies against the divine oracles? For when our Lord Jesus Christ had been among us, we, indeed, were promoted as rescued from sin; but He is the same; nor did He alter when He became man (to repeat what I have said), but, as hath been written, "The Word of God abideth forever." Surely, as before His becoming man, He, the Word, dispensed to the saints the Spirit as His own; so

also, when made man, He sanctifies all by the Spirit, and says to His disciples, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." And He gave to Moses and the other seventy; and through Him David prayed to the Father, saying, "Take not Thy Holy Spirit from me." On the other hand, when made man, He said, I will send to you the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth; and He sent Him, He, the Word of God, as being faithful. Therefore, Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, remaining unalterable, and at once gives and receives, giving as God's Word, receiving as man. It is not the Word then, viewed as the Word, that is promoted, for He had all things, and has had them always; but men, who have in Him and through Him their origin of receiving them. For, when He is now said to be anointed in a human respect, we it is who in Him are anointed; as also, when He is baptized, we it is who in Him are baptized. But on all these things the Savior throws much light, when He says to the Father, "And the glory which Thou gavest Me, I have given to them, that they may be one, even as We are one." Because of us, then, He asked for glory, and the words *took* and *gave* and *highly exalted* occur, that we might take, and to us might be given, and we might be exalted in Him; as also for us He sanctified Himself, that we might be sanctified in Him.

But if they take advantage of the word *therefore*, as connected with the passage in the Psalm, "Therefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee," for their own purposes, let these novices in Scripture and masters in irreligion know that, as before, the word *therefore* does not imply reward of virtue or conduct in the Word, but the reason why He came down to us, and of the Spirit's anointing which took place in Him for our sakes. For he says not, "Therefore He anointed Thee in order to Thy being God or King or Son or Word"; for so He was before, and is forever, as has been shown; but rather, "Since Thou art God and King, therefore Thou wast anointed, since none but Thou could unite man to the Holy Ghost, Thou the image of the Father, in which we were made in the beginning; for Thine is even the Spirit." For the nature of things originate could give no warranty for this, since angels have transgressed, and men have disobeyed. Therefore there was need of God,—and the Word is God,—that those who had fallen under a curse, He Himself might set free. If then He was of nothing, He would not have been the Christ or Anointed, being one among others and having fellowship as the rest. But, whereas He is God, as being the Son of God, and is Everlasting King, and exists as Radiance and Expression of the Father, therefore fitly is He the expected Christ, whom the Father

announces to mankind, by revelation to His holy prophets ; that as through Him we have come to be, so also in Him all men might be redeemed from their sins, and by Him all things might be ruled. And this is the cause of the anointing which took place in Him, and of the incarnate presence of the Word ; which the Psalmist foreseeing, celebrates, first, His Godhead and kingdom, which is the Father's, in these tones, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever ; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom" ; then announces His descent to us, thus : "Therefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows."

What is there to wonder at, what to disbelieve, if the Lord, who gives the Spirit, is here said Himself to be anointed with the Spirit, at a time when, necessity requiring it, He did not refuse in respect of His manhood to call Himself inferior to the Spirit? For when the Jews said that He cast out devils by Beelzebub, He answered and said to them, for the exposure of their blasphemy, "But if I, through the Spirit of God, cast out devils." Behold, the Giver of the Spirit here says that He cast out devils in the Spirit ; but this is not said except because of His flesh. For since man's nature is not equal of itself to casting out devils, but only in power of the Spirit, therefore as man He said, "But if I, through the Spirit of God, cast out devils." Of

course too He signified that the blasphemy offered to the Holy Ghost is greater than that against His humanity, when He said, "Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him"; such as were those who said, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" but they who blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, and ascribe the deeds of the Word to the devil, shall have inevitable punishment. This is what the Lord spoke to the Jews, as man; but to the disciples, showing His Godhead and His Majesty, and intimating that He was not inferior but equal to the Spirit, He gave the Spirit and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost"; and "I send Him," and "He shall glorify Me," and "Whatsoever He heareth, that He shall speak." As then in this place the Lord Himself, the Giver of the Spirit, does not refuse to say that through the Spirit He cast out devils, as man; in like manner He, the same, the Giver of the Spirit, refused not to say, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me," in respect of His having become flesh, as John hath said; that it might be shown in both these particulars that we are they who need the Spirit's grace in our sanctification, and again who are unable to cast out devils without the Spirit's power. Through whom then and from whom behooved it that the Spirit should be given but through the Son, whose also the Spirit is? And when were we enabled to

receive it, except when the Word became man? And, as the passage of the Apostle shows that we had not been redeemed and highly exalted, had not He who exists in the form of God taken the form of a servant, so David also shows that not otherwise should we have partaken of the Spirit and been sanctified, but that the Giver of the Spirit, the Word Himself, had spoken of Himself as anointed with the Spirit, for us. And therefore have we securely received it, as He is said to be anointed in the flesh; for the flesh being first sanctified in Him, and He being said, as man, to have received for its sake, we have the sequel of the Spirit's grace, receiving out of His fulness.

Nor do the words, "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity," which are added in the Psalm, show, as again you suppose, that the nature of the Word is alterable, but rather by their very force signify His unalterableness. For since of things originate the nature is alterable, and the one portion had transgressed and the other disobeyed, as has been said, and it is not certain how they will act, but it often happens that he who is now good, afterwards alters and becomes different, so that one who was but now righteous, soon is found unrighteous, therefore there was here also need of one unalterable, that men might have the immutability of the righteousness of the

Word as an image and type for virtue. And this thought commends itself strongly to the right-minded. For since the first man, Adam, altered, and through sin death came into the world, therefore it became the second Adam to be unalterable; that, should the serpent again assault, even the serpent's deceit might be baffled, and, the Lord being unalterable and unchangeable, the serpent might become powerless in his assaults against all. For as when Adam had transgressed, his sin reached unto all men, so, when the Lord had become man and had overthrown the serpent, that great strength of His is to extend through all men, so that each of us may say, "For we are not ignorant of his devices." Good reason then that the Lord, who ever is in nature unalterable, loving righteousness and hating iniquity, should be anointed and Himself sent, that He, being and remaining the same, by taking the alterable flesh, might condemn sin in it, and might secure its freedom, and its ability henceforth to fulfil the righteousness of the law in itself, so as to be able to say, "But we are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in us."

Vainly, then, here again, O Arians, have ye made this conjecture, and vainly alleged the words of Scripture; for God's Word is unalterable, and is ever in one state, not as it may happen, but as

the Father is; since how is He like the Father, unless He be thus? or how is all that is the Father's the Son's also, if He has not the unalterableness and the unchangeableness of the Father? Not as being subject to laws, and as influenced this way and that, does He love the one and hate the other, lest, if from fear of falling away He chooses the one, we admit in another way that He is alterable; but as being God and the Father's Word He is a just judge and lover of virtue, or rather its dispenser. Therefore being just and holy by nature, on this account He is to love righteousness and to hate iniquity; as much as to say that He loves and takes to Him the virtuous, and rejects and hates the unrighteous. And divine Scripture says the same of the Father: "The righteous Lord loveth righteousness; Thou hatest all them that work iniquity"; and, "The Lord loveth the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob"; and, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated"; and in Esaias, there is the voice of God again, saying, "I the Lord love righteousness, and hate robbery of unrighteousness." Let them then expound those former words as these latter; for the former also are written of the Image of God; else, misinterpreting these as those, they will conceive that the Father too is alterable. But since the very hearing others say this is not without peril, we do well to think that God is said to love

righteousness and to hate robbery of unrighteousness, not as if influenced this way and that, and capable of the contrary, selecting one thing and not choosing another, for this belongs to things originate, but that as a judge He loves and takes to Him the righteous and withdraws from the bad. It follows then to think the same concerning the Image of God also, that He loves and hates no otherwise than thus—for such must be the nature of the Image as is His Father, though the Arians in their blindness fail to see either that Image or any other truth of the divine oracles. For being forced from the conceptions or rather misconceptions of their own hearts, they fall back upon passages of divine Scripture, and here, too, from want of understanding, according to their wont, they discern not their meaning; but laying down their own irreligion as a sort of canon of interpretation, they wrest the whole of the divine oracles into accordance with it. And so on the bare mention of such doctrine, they deserve nothing but the reply, "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God"; and if they persist in it, they must be put to silence, by the words, "Render to man the things that are man's, and to God the things that are God's."

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

BASIL

Basil the Great was born at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in the year 330 A.D. His early years were spent in Annesi, where the family estates were. Here he was under the influence of his grandmother, Macrina, one of the noblest women of the times. In 343 he was sent to Cæsarea, and in 351 to Athens to finish his education. Here he made the acquaintance of Gregory of Nazianzus. The youths were drawn together by a common devotion to the Church and to science. In 357 Basil, who had returned to Cæsarea, was baptized and in the next year entered a monastery. In 360 he was ordained deacon, and in 364, priest. He made himself invaluable to the Archbishop in the controversy with the Arians that was then raging, and so great was his ability that the conduct of the affairs of the see was practically in his hands. On the death of Eusebius, the Archbishop, Basil was chosen and consecrated Bishop. In the conduct of the controversy with the Emperor Valens, an ardent Arian, Basil, in spite of exile, was victorious. In 372 the friendship with Gregory Nazianzen was broken by Basil in forcing Gregory to be consecrated Bishop of Sasima. Basil's great work was administration and charity, the reformation of the Liturgy and preaching. He died in 379.

Basil is the first of the preachers of practical rhetorical sermons. There is not much elegance in his phraseology, but great force and clearness in his style. He is always logical in his arrangement, manly and eloquent. He generally spoke without text and extemporaneously.

The works of Basil include a dogmatic treatise on the Holy Spirit, a treatise against Eunomius, the Arian, a number of homilies, of which the Hexæmeron is the most admired, and three hundred and sixty-five letters that have been preserved. The best collected edition of the works of Basil is the

Benedictine Edition in three volumes, folio, Paris, 1721–1730, reprinted by Migne. Nearly all his works have been translated into the various modern languages. The most important account of Basil is the panegyric pronounced soon after his death by Gregory Nazianzen. Of modern works the following are important : De Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire Romain au IVme Siècle ;* C. Ullmann, *Gregory of Nazianzus ;* Travers Smith, *Basil ;* Swete, *Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.* See also, the life in the Benedictine Edition by Maran, the article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and Bohringer, *Kirchengeschichte in Biographien,* iii., 2.

THE HEXÆMERON

Basil.

The following selections from the Hexæmeron of Basil are specimens of his most admired orations. There are in this set nine homilies on the cosmogony of Genesis. The date and place cannot be determined. They were, however, delivered during Lent, at morning and evening service on successive days, and were extemporaneous addresses. They appear to have been delivered before a large number of artisans and working people, as one sees by a reference in the third homily.

The opinion of these homilies current in the ancient Church seems to-day most extravagant. Photius, no mean critic for his time, would even rank them with the works of Plato and Demosthenes! In these homilies Basil shows himself to be fully abreast of the science of his times.

The passages selected are from the first, second, fourth, and fifth homilies.

FROM HOMILY I.

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."

IT is becoming that any one who is going to tell the story of the formation of the world should begin with a portrayal of the cosmic beauty which prevails in visible things. The subject of my discourse is the creation of heaven and earth, which was not the result of chance, as some have fancied, but which drew its origin from God. What ear is worthy to hear so sublime a narrative? What earnest preparation the soul should undergo

for the reception of such exalted truths! How free it should be from carnal affections, how unaffected by worldly cares, how ardent and diligent in its inquiries, so as to find in its environment a worthy conception of God!

But before testing the accuracy and weighing the significance of these few words, let us consider who addresses them to us. For, although through the limits of our intelligence we are unable to penetrate the depths of the writer's thoughts, yet through the authority of his name we shall be led to give a willing credence to his words. Now it is Moses who is the author of this history: Moses, who while still at the breast was described as exceeding fair; Moses, whom the daughter of Pharaoh took as her own son, who received from her a royal education and had as his teachers the sages of Egypt; Moses, who, scorning the vain pomp of royalty and making his own the humble state of his brethren, preferred to suffer affliction with the people of God rather than for a season to enjoy the pleasures of sin; Moses, who was naturally endowed with such a love of justice that even before he was entrusted with the leadership of the people of God, he was impelled by horror of sin to pursue evil-doers even to death; Moses, who, when rejected by those whom he had benefited, gladly fled from the turmoil of Egypt, and retired to Ethiopia, and there, far removed from

former occupations, spent forty years in contemplating nature; Moses, in fine, who when eighty years old beheld God, as far as man is privileged to behold Him, or rather as it had been granted to no man before that time to behold Him, according to the testimony of God Himself, "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make Myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all My house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in dark speeches." It was this man, who was deemed worthy to behold God face to face like the holy angels, who imparts to us what he has heard from God. Let us hearken then to these words of truth, spoken not with "the enticing words of man's wisdom," but at the dictation of the Spirit of God; words whose aim is not the applause of those who hear them, but the salvation of those who learn of them.

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Wonder at the thought causes me to pause in my discourse. What shall I say first? From what point shall I begin my narrative? Shall I expose the vanity of the Gentiles? Shall I magnify the truth of our faith? The philosophers of Greece have greatly busied themselves about nature, but not one of their systems has continued steadfast and immovable, each being

the world had no beginning. Then he adds "created," to show that what was created was only the least part of the power of the Creator. Like as the potter who has fashioned with the same skill numberless vessels has lessened neither his skill nor his power, so the Author of the universe possesses power not circumscribed by one world, but infinite in its range, which needed merely the impulse of His will to call into being the immensities of the universe. Hence, if the world had a beginning, and has been made, inquire who it is that gave it its beginning and is its Creator. Or rather, for fear that human inquiries might lead one far away from the truth, Moses has anticipated inquiry by this document, and has engraved on our hearts, as a seal and an amulet, the awful name of God: "In the beginning God created." It is He, beneficent Nature, unbounded Goodness, most rational Object of Love, Beauty most to be desired, Source of all that exists, Fountain of Life, Light of the soul, inscrutable Wisdom — He it is who "in the beginning created heaven and earth."

Imagine not then, O man, that the visible world is without a beginning; and because the celestial bodies circle about, and it is not possible for our finite minds to determine the point where the circle begins, do not therefore fancy that bodies moving in a circular orbit are, from their nature, without a beginning. Doubtless the circle — I

mean the plane figure bounded by a single line — is beyond our comprehension, and we cannot tell where it began and where it ends. Yet we should not conclude that it is continuous and had no beginning; for, though the fact escape us, it really begins at the point where the draughtsman began to draw it with a determined radius from the centre. Thus, seeing that figures which move in a circle return whence they started, without for a moment breaking the regularity of their course, do not falsely conclude that the world is without beginning or end. "For the fashion of this world passeth away"; and "heaven and earth shall pass away." The announcement of the doctrine of the end of the world, and of the new heaven and the new earth, are here briefly stated, in the beginning of this inspired account: "In the beginning God created."

That which had a beginning in time must have an end in time. If then the world has had a beginning, do not doubt of the end. Geometry, mathematics, the study of solids, famous astronomy, most laborious vanity—to what end do they lead, if those who pursue these studies conclude that this visible world is coeternal with God, the Creator of the universe; if they attribute to this finite world, with its material body, the same glory as to the incomprehensible and invisible nature; if they cannot even comprehend that a whole,

the parts of which are subject to corruption and change, must necessarily be finally subject to the same fate as the parts themselves? But they "became vain in their imaginings, and their foolish heart was darkened." Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools: to such an extent, indeed, that some have asserted that heaven coexists with God from all eternity; others assert that it is God Himself, without beginning or end, and is the source of the law of the universe regulating each particular thing.

Doubtless one day the superabundance of this worldly wisdom will bring the heavier condemnation upon them, since, discerning so clearly the vanity of human knowledge, they have wilfully blinded their eyes to the knowledge of the truth. Those men who determine the distance of the stars, and describe them, both those of the northern hemisphere, ever shining in our view, and those about the southern pole, visible to the inhabitants of the southern hemisphere but unseen by us; who divide the northern zone, and the circle of the zodiac, into innumerable parts; who accurately observe the orbits of the stars, their fixed points and their declensions, and the course of their revolutions, and in what time each completes the period of its movement: one art alone these men have not discovered—to know God, the Creator of the universe and the just Judge, who rewards

according to their merits all the deeds of life. They have not been able to grasp the thought of the consummation of all things,—the corollary to the doctrine of judgment, — and to see that the world must of necessity change if the soul changes to another form of life. For just as the present life shows an affinity to the nature of this world, so also will the future life of the soul conform to its new environment. But they are so far from recognizing these truths that they deride us when we speak to them about the end of this world and the regeneration of the age. Since the beginning naturally comes before those things which proceed from it, the writer, in telling of those things which have their existence in time, puts at the commencement of his story these words: "In the beginning God created."

Even before this world, it seems probable that there existed something, which we can conceive of, but cannot express in words, because the theme is beyond the grasp of those who are beginners and babes in understanding. Before the birth of the world, there was a more ancient order of things, adapted to celestial powers, transcending all time, eternal, infinite. In that order the Creator and Architect of the universe perfected His works—a spiritual light to contribute to the happiness of all who love the Lord, rational but invisible natures, indeed all that system of pure intelligences who

surpass our comprehension, and even the names of whom we cannot divine. These fill the essence of the invisible world, as Paul himself teaches us, saying: "For by Him were all things created. . . . visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers"; whether armies of angels or prefectures of archangels.

Then at length it seemed good that this world should be added to the order already existing, that there should be a place suitable for rearing and instructing the souls of men, and a home for things subject to the laws of birth and death. Accordingly the succession of time was instituted, of a nature analogous to this world and the animals and plants that grow upon it: time that is always pressing on, and ever passing, and never returning upon its course. Is not this the nature of time, where the past has forever vanished, the future does not exist, and the present escapes the senses before it is recognized?

And such also is the nature of those who exist in time, condemned to grow or to perish without finding anything permanent and immutable. Accordingly, the bodies of animals and plants, which are necessarily compelled to follow a sort of current, and which are subject to the ever-moving course of birth and death, are fittingly consigned to temporal surroundings, whose nature conforms to that of beings subject to change.

Hence the writer, who wisely tells us of the origin of the universe, has appropriately begun his description with these words: "In the beginning God created"; that is to say, at the beginning of time. By stating that the world was made in the beginning, he does not imply that the world is the earliest of all things that were made; but he merely means to say that the visible world, the world of the senses, began to exist after the invisible world, the world of the spirit.

FROM HOMILY II.

"The earth was invisible and unfinished."

In the few words which we considered this morning, we found such a hidden depth of meaning that we despair altogether regarding those which follow. For if the fore-court of the sanctuary is so grand, if the portico of the temple is so imposing and magnificent, that its surpassing beauty then dazzles the eyes of the soul, what must be the Holy of Holies! Who will dare to approach its innermost shrine? Who will seek to know its secrets? The view of these glories is indeed forbidden us; and language is altogether incapable of expressing what the mind conceives. However, as there are rewards, by no means to be despised, bestowed by the just Judge for good intentions as well as for actual accomplishments, let us not waver in pursuing our studies. Although

we may not reach the full sublimity of our theme, yet if with the aid of the Spirit we do not wander from the meaning of the Holy Scripture, we shall not be judged as deserving of condemnation, and, with the coöperation of divine grace, we shall contribute something to the edification of the Church of God.

"The earth," says Holy Scripture, "was invisible and unfinished." How is it that, when heaven and earth were made without distinction, whilst the heavens are perfect the earth is still without form and void? In a word, what was the unfinished earth? and for what reason was it invisible? Now the perfect equipment of the earth consists in its fertility: in the sprouting of plants of all sorts, in the growth of tall trees, both productive and sterile, in the fair colors and sweet scents of flowers, and in whatever at the voice of God emerged a little later from the earth to beautify her, the universal Mother. As there was yet none of these things, the Scriptures properly spoke of the earth as without form. We could also say this of the heavens, as they were not yet perfect and had not yet received their fitting adornment, not being as yet resplendent with the glory of the sun or of the moon, nor crowned with the charms of the stars. These bodies were not yet made. Hence you will not err from the truth, if you say that the heavens were as yet "without form."

The earth was invisible for one of two reasons: either because man, the spectator, was not yet created, or because the earth, being submerged underneath the water that overflowed its surface, could not be seen. For not yet had been gathered into their places the waters, which God afterwards gathered together and called "seas." What then is invisible? First of all, that which our physical eye cannot see, as the mind; then, whatever, though visible by nature, is hidden by being covered over by some other body, as iron in the bowels of the earth. In this latter sense we deem the earth invisible because covered by the waters. Furthermore, as light had not yet been created, and as the earth lay in darkness because the air above it was not yet illumined, it is nothing wonderful that the Scriptures should speak of the earth as "invisible."

But the corrupters of the truth, who have not learnt how to submit their reason to the guidance of Scripture, but distort the sense of the Scripture to suit their own ends, say that by these words is meant matter. For it is matter, they say, which of its own nature is invisible and without form, being without quality from the conditions of its existence, and without all form and figure. This the Artificer took and moulded according to His wisdom, organized it, and so brought into existence the visible world.

If matter is uncreated, equal honor must be attributed to it as to God, since it must be of equal origin with Him. What can be more impious than this, that something profane, without quality, form, or shape, ugliness itself without configuration (to use their own expression), should enjoy equal prerogatives and dignity with Him who is combined Wisdom, Power, and Beauty, the Creator and Artificer of the universe?

Finally, if matter is of such importance that the whole wisdom of God is expended upon it, it would in a manner place its substance on an equality with the power of God itself, which is unapproachable, since it would be of itself capable of determining the limits of the divine intelligence. If, on the contrary, matter is of too corrupt a nature for the operation of God to extend to it, then we fall into a more absurd blasphemy, since we condemn God because on account of the defects of matter His works were left incomplete and unfinished. The poverty of human nature has deceived them. Each of our crafts employs some special form of matter; the blacksmith works in iron, the carpenter in wood. In each of these crafts there is the subject, the form, the work which is finished from the form. The material is taken from without, the art suggests the form, and the product consists at the same time of form and of matter.

Such is the conception they have of the divine handiwork. The form of the world was suggested by the wisdom of the Creator; matter was taken from without; and then the world originated from two sources. From without came its matter, its essence; and from God it received its form and its figure. Wherefore they deny that the all-powerful God presided over the creation of the universe, but hold that He merely performed the finishing act, and of Himself contributed but a small portion to the formation of the universe.

On account of the baseness of their reasoning they are incapable of rising to the sublimity of truth. Wool existed first; the art of weaving succeeded, to supply a defect of nature. Similarly wood existed; the art of carpentering followed, to conform this material to our daily need; it shows us the utility of wood, supplying the oar for the sailor, the winnowing fan for the farmer, the spear for the soldier.

But God, before any of these things we now see existed, determined to bring into being things that were not, conceived the world as it ought to be, and created matter in harmony with the form He had conceived.

And to the heavens He assigned a nature similar to the heavens; to the earth he gave an essence conformable with its form. He created, as He

wished, fire and water and air, and bestowed upon each the essence required by the object of its existence. Furthermore, He bound together all the different parts of the universe, by an irrefragable law of attraction, in so complete a union and harmony that even those most distant from each other seem united in one universal sympathy. Let men cease, therefore, from fabulous phantasies, who, in the weakness of their reasoning, pretend to measure the power of God, incomprehensible to the human intellect and unutterable by the human voice.

FROM HOMILY IV.

Upon "the gathering together of the waters"

There are certain cities where the inhabitants, from dawn to evening, feast their eyes on the performances of all sorts of conjurers. They never tire of listening to dissolute and filthy songs, which in every way corrupt the soul. Many even call such people happy, because they neglect the occupations of business and the trades useful to life, and spend the time allotted them on earth in all forms of idleness and pleasure. They do not realize that a theatre which abounds in impure spectacles is for those who witness them a common school of licentiousness; nor that the tones of the lyre, however melodious they may be, and

the meretricious songs, sink into the souls of their hearers, and that all who imitate the notes of the harpers and pipers are drawn into all forms of vice. Others, who delight beyond measure in horses, fight over horses in their dreams ; they harness up their chariots, change their drivers, and even in the phantoms of sleep are altogether absorbed in the foolish pursuits of the day.

And shall we whom the Lord, the great Thaumaturgist and Artificer, has summoned to the contemplation of His works, grow weary of the sight and be negligent in hearing the words of the Holy Spirit ? Shall we not rather inspect the vast and varied workshop of the Divine Architect, and, carried back in mind to past times, contemplate the divine order of the universe ? Heaven, formed like a dome, as says the prophet ; earth, infinite in mass and magnitude, resting upon itself ; air, diffused about it, soft and humid by nature, supplying a suitable and inexhaustible aliment for all who breathe it, tenuous moreover, and yielding to the movements of the body, offering no resistance to our motions, and returning to its place when divided ; and finally water, which quenches man's thirst, and is also destined for other uses ; and the wondrous gathering together of the waters into definite places which have been determined for them : this is the picture which you will be shown by the words which I have just read to you.

FROM HOMILY V.

The Germination of the Earth

I desire for you to be so profoundly impressed with the wonders of creation that everywhere, wherever you may be, and whatever kind of plant you may observe, you will remember the Creator. If indeed you see the grass and flower of the field, let the thought of human nature occur to you and recall this comparison of the wise Isaiah: "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field." Truly the shortness of life, the brief and fleeting happiness resulting from human prosperity, most admirably accord with the similitude of the prophet. To-day one is vigorous in body, is surrounded with every luxury, is in the prime of life, is radiant with the glow of health, is strong and powerful and of resistless energy: to-morrow he will be an object of pity, withered by age and emaciated by sickness. Another is endowed with all the gifts of fortune; about him are grouped a multitude of flatterers; a company of pretended friends gather round in quest of his favor; here a crowd of relatives, and these only from pretence; there a multitude of attendants, who swarm about him to provide his food and other wants: and, as he comes and goes, this endless train of followers arouses envy in all the passers-by. Add also to his riches political power,

honors bestowed by kings, the government of nations, and the command of armies; a herald, crying with a loud voice, preceding him; lictors to right and left, inspiring awe in his subjects; blows, confiscations, banishments, imprisonments, and all the means of increasing the intolerable terror of his subjects. And what then? One night either fever, or pleurisy, or inflammation of the lungs snatches this man away from the midst of his fellows, strips him in a trice of all his stage trappings, and all this glory of his turns out to be but a dream. Therefore the prophet compared human glory to the feeblest flower.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

ADMONITION TO A FALLEN VIRGIN

Basil.

The following example of Basil's style is counted as the forty-sixth letter in his collected works. No name is given of the person to whom it is addressed. Although it is called a letter, its position in this collection of masterpieces of eloquence will not be questioned. In judging the admonition, it should be borne in mind that Basil was a most rigid ascetic. His whole conception of life was monastic. The young woman seems to have been in a convent and left it to be married She was therefore unfaithful to her vow to her spiritual bridegroom. Hence the withering denunciations of Basil. The date of this work is uncertain but it probably falls before Basil's episcopate.

"Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!"—Jeremiah ix., 1.

THOUGH they are wrapped in profound silence, and lie quite stupefied by their calamity, and deprived by their deadly wound, even of every sense of suffering, yet it does not become us to withhold our tears over so sad a fall. For if Jeremiah deemed those worthy of countless lamentations whose bodies had received wounds in battle, what shall we say when souls are involved in so great a calamity? "My slain men," says the prophet, "are not slain with the sword, nor dead in battle." But my lamentation is for the

sting of the true death, the grievousness of sin, and for the fiery darts of the wicked one, which have cruelly set on fire both body and soul. Well might the laws of God groan aloud, beholding such pollution on earth, those laws which of old uttered their loud prohibition, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife"; and in the Gospels, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." But now behold, the very bride of the Lord — her of whom Christ is the head — has committed adultery without fear or shame. Yes, the very spirits of departed saints may well groan, the zealous Phinehas, because he cannot now snatch the spear and punish the outrage with a corporeal vengeance, and John the Baptist, because he cannot now leave the celestial abodes, as in his life he left the wilderness, and hasten to rebuke transgression, and, if the sacrifice were called for, to lay down his head sooner than his freedom to speak. Nay, let us rather say that, like blessed Abel, John being dead yet speaketh, and now declares with a yet louder cry than in the case of Herodias, saying, "It is not lawful for thee to have her." For though the body of John, yielding to the inevitable sentence of God, has paid the debt of nature, and his tongue is silent, yet "the Word of God is not bound." John, when he saw that the marriage covenant had been violated in the case

of a fellow servant, was faithful even unto death with his stern reproofs: what must he have felt if he had seen the holy bride-chamber of the Lord thus wantonly outraged?

But as for thee, thou hast thus cast off the yoke of that divine union. Thou hast deserted the undefiled chamber of the true King, thou hast shamefully fallen into this disgraceful and impious defilement. Since thou hast no way of evading this bitter charge, and no method or artifice to conceal thy crime, thou boldly hardenest thyself in guilt. As he who has once fallen into the abyss of crime becomes henceforth an impious despiser, so thou deniest thy actual covenant with the true Bridegroom; alleging that thou wast not a virgin, and hadst never taken the vow, although thou hast both received and given many pledges of virginity. Remember the good confession which thou witnessedst before God, angels, and men. Remember that hallowed assembly, the sacred choir of virgins, the congregation of the Lord, and the Church of the saints. Remember thy grandmother, grown old in Christ, whose Christian virtues still flourish with the vigor of youth; and thy mother, who vies with her in the Lord, and strives by new and unwonted endeavors to break the bands of custom. Remember thy sister, likewise, in some things their imitator, and in some aspiring to excel them, and to surpass in the merits of

sting of the true death, the grievousness of sin, and for the fiery darts of the wicked one, which have cruelly set on fire both body and soul. Well might the laws of God groan aloud, beholding such pollution on earth, those laws which of old uttered their loud prohibition, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife"; and in the Gospels, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." But now behold, the very bride of the Lord — her of whom Christ is the head — has committed adultery without fear or shame. Yes, the very spirits of departed saints may well groan, the zealous Phinehas, because he cannot now snatch the spear and punish the outrage with a corporeal vengeance, and John the Baptist, because he cannot now leave the celestial abodes, as in his life he left the wilderness, and hasten to rebuke transgression, and, if the sacrifice were called for, to lay down his head sooner than his freedom to speak. Nay, let us rather say that, like blessed Abel, John being dead yet speaketh, and now declares with a yet louder cry than in the case of Herodias, saying, "It is not lawful for thee to have her." For though the body of John, yielding to the inevitable sentence of God, has paid the debt of nature, and his tongue is silent, yet "the Word of God is not bound." John, when he saw that the marriage covenant had been violated in the case

greeted by them with praises on account of virginity, blessings bestowed by virgins, letters addressed to thee as to a virgin! But now, having been just breathed upon by the spirit of the air that now worketh in the children of disobedience, thou hast abjured all these, thou hast bartered that precious and enviable possession for a brief pleasure, which is sweet to thy taste for a moment, but which afterward thou wilt find bitterer than gall.

Who would not mourn over such things and cry, "How is the faithful city become an harlot!" Would not the Lord Himself say to some who now walk in the spirit of Jeremiah, "Hast thou seen what the virgin of Israel hath done unto Me? I betrothed her unto Me in trust and purity, in righteousness and in judgment, and in loving-kindness and in mercies, even as I promised her by Hosea the prophet. But she loved strangers; and even while I her husband lived, she has made herself an adulteress, and has not feared to become the wife of another husband." And what would the conductor of the bride say, the divine and blessed Paul, both the ancient Apostle and this modern one, under whose auspices and instruction thou didst leave thy father's house and join thyself to the Lord? Would not each, filled with grief at the great calamity, say, "The thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me," for, "I have espoused

you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ." I was always fearful lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your mind should be corrupted. And on this account I always endeavored, like a skilful charmer, by innumerable countercharms, to suppress the tumult of the passions, and by countless safeguards to secure the bride of the Lord, rehearsing again and again the manner of life of her who is unmarried, describing how "the unmarried alone careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit." I set forth repeatedly the honor of virginity, calling thee the temple of God, that I might add wings to thy zeal, and help thee upward to Jesus; and I also had recourse to the fear of evil, to prevent thee from falling, telling thee that "if any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy." I also added the assistance of my prayers, that if possible, "thy whole spirit and soul and body might be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." But all this labor I have spent in vain upon thee. Those sweet toils have ended in a bitter disappointment; and now I must again groan over her of whom I ought to have joy. Thou hast been beguiled by the serpent more bitterly than Eve: not only hath thy mind become defiled, but with it thy very body also; and what is still more horrible,—I shrink

from saying it, but I cannot suppress it; for it is as fire burning and blazing in my bones, and I am undone in every part and cannot endure it,—thou hast taken the members of Christ, and made them the members of a harlot. This is incomparably the greatest evil of all. This is a new crime in the world, to which we may apply the words of the prophet, "Pass over the isles of Chittim, and see; and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing. Hath a nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods?" But the virgin hath changed her glory, and her glory is in her shame. The heavens are astonished at this, and the earth is horribly afraid, saith the Lord, for the virgin hath committed two evils: she hath forsaken Me, the true and holy Bridegroom of holy souls, and hath fled to an impious and lawless destroyer of body and soul alike. She hath turned away from God her Saviour, and hath yielded her members servants to uncleanness and iniquity. She hath forgotten Me and gone after her lover, by whom she will not profit.

It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea, than that he should cause one of the Lord's virgins to offend. What slave ever carried his insane audacity so far as to fling himself upon the couch of his lord? What robber ever attained such a height of folly as to lay hands

upon the very offerings of God?— but here it is not inanimate vessels, but living bodies, enshrining souls made in the image of God. Since the beginning of the world was any one ever heard of, who dared, in the midst of a great city, in broad midday to deface the likeness of a king by inscribing upon it the forms of filthy swine? He that despises human nuptials dies without mercy under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and defiled His espoused wife, and done despite to the spirit of virginity?

. . . . . .

But after all this "shall they fall and not arise? shall he turn away and not return?" Why hath the virgin turned away in so shameless an apostasy, though she had heard Christ, the Bridegroom, saying by Jeremiah, "And I said, after she had lewdly done all these things, turn thou unto Me, but she returned not"? "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why, then, is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?" Thou mightest, indeed, find in the divine Scriptures many remedies for evil—many medicines that recover from destruction and restore to life; mysteries of death and resurrection, the sentences of a dreadful judgment, and

everlasting punishment; the doctrines of repentance and remission of sins; those innumerable examples of conversion — the piece of silver, the lost sheep, the son that had devoured his living with harlots, who was lost and found, who was dead and alive again. Let us not use these remedies amiss; with these let us heal our souls. Think, too, of thy last day (for thou art not to live always, more than others), of the distress, the anguish, the hour of death, the impending sentence of God, the angels hastening on their way, the soul fearfully agitated by all these things, bitterly tormented by a guilty conscience, and clinging pitifully to the things here below, and still under the inevitable necessity of taking its departure for that long life elsewhere. Picture to thy mind the final dissolution of all that belongs to our present life, when the Son of Man shall come in His glory, with His holy angels: "For He shall come, and shall not keep silence," when He shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his work; when the trumpet, with its loud and terrible echo, shall awaken those who have slept through the ages, and they shall come forth — they that have done good to the resurrection of the life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation. Remember the vision of Daniel, and how he brings the judgment before

our eyes: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened," clearly revealing in the hearing of all men and of all angels, all things, whether good or bad, open or secret, deeds, words, thoughts, all at once. What effect must all these things have on those who have lived viciously? Where, then, shall that soul hide which in the sight of all those spectators shall suddenly be revealed in all its shame? In what body can it endure those unending and intolerable torments of the unquenchable fire, and the tortures of the undying worm, and the dark and frightful abyss of hell, and the bitter howlings, and woful wailings, and weeping and gnashing of teeth; and all that anguish without end? Deliverance from these after death there is none; no device, no contrivance for escaping these bitter torments.

But now it is possible for us to escape them. While it is possible, let us recover ourselves from our fall; let us never despair of our restoration, if only we break loose from our vices. Jesus Christ

came into the world to save sinners. "O come, let us worship and fall down, let us weep before Him." The Word, calling us to repentance, lifts up His voice and cries aloud, "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." There is, then, a way of salvation, if we will. Death in his might has swallowed us up; but again the Lord hath wiped away tears from off all faces. The Lord is faithful in all His words. He does not lie, when He says, "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." The great Physician of souls is ready to heal thy disease; He is the prompt Deliverer, not of thee alone, but of all who are in bondage to sin. These are His words — His sweet and life-giving lips pronounced them: "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." What excuse have you, what excuse has any one, when He utters such language as this? The Lord is willing to heal thy painful wound, and to enlighten thy darkness. The Good Shepherd leaves the sheep that have not strayed, to seek for thee. If thou give thyself up to Him, He will not delay. He in His mercy will not disdain to carry thee upon His own shoulders, rejoicing that He has found His sheep which was lost. The Father stands waiting thy return from thy

wanderings. Only arise and come, and whilst thou art yet a great way off He will run and fall upon thy neck; and, purified at once by thy repentance, thou shalt be enfolded in the embraces of His love. He will put the best robe on thy soul, when it has put off the old man with his deeds: He will put a ring on thy hands when they have been washed from the blood of death: He will put shoes on thy feet, when they have turned from the evil way to the path of the Gospel of peace. He will proclaim a day of joy and gladness, to the whole family of both angels and men, and will celebrate thy salvation far and wide. For He Himself says, "Verily I say unto you that joy shall be in heaven before God over one sinner that repenteth." And if any of those who think they stand should find fault, because thou art so quickly received, the good Father Himself will make answer for thee, saying, "It was meet that we should make merry and be glad; for this," my daughter, "was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found."

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

GREGORY OF NYSSA

Gregory of Nyssa was a younger brother of Basil, the Bishop of Cæsarea, and like him was born at Cæsarea. The year of his birth seems to be 335 A.D. His father, who was by profession a rhetorician, died while Gregory was still young, and the boy was brought up by his mother and grandmother. His education, owing to his weak constitution, was almost entirely at home, but here he had the invaluable assistance of his brother Basil. Like so many distinguished men of the Church, he was in early life an advocate; but, influenced by his sister, he was baptized and entered the ministry. Basil was elected Bishop of Cæsarea in 370, and in order to strengthen his position in the conflict with Arianism, he persuaded Gregory, much against his wish, to be consecrated Bishop of Nyssa, a small town in the west of Cappadocia. In the persecution of the orthodox under Valens, Gregory was driven into exile; but on the death of Valens in 378, he returned to Nyssa. Meanwhile his fame as a theologian had increased so that in 381 he was summoned to Constantinople to the Council and was there treated with the greatest consideration. The latter years of his life are not well known. He seems, however, to have enjoyed the imperial favor. He died in 395.

The style of Gregory is probably the best of those of the Greek Fathers, and he was able to handle the degenerate Greek of his times with accuracy and force. He is greater than his brother as a theologian, but his inferior as an orator. By some he is regarded as more a manipulator of words than a genuine artist. He is certainly often artificial and forced. He is at his best, however, in enthusiastic panegyrics, and his style is at times highly dramatic.

The works of Gregory of Nyssa are in a less satisfactory condition than those of any other Greek Father. They are

preserved in manuscripts in poor condition, and have never been adequately edited. They comprise dogmatic treatises of great subtlety ; ascetic, moral, philosophical, and apologetical works ; orations, letters, and a few expositions. The best edition is by Fronton le Duc, in two volumes, folio, Paris, 1615.

For accounts of Gregory, see Rupp, *Gregory des Bischofs von Nyssa Leben und Meinungen,* 1834 ; Dupin, *History of Ecclesiastical Authors*. London, 1696, ii., 176–184 ; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte,* 1888, ii., 163 *ff.* ; Dorner, *Person of Christ,* English translation, Div. I., ii., 311 *ff.* ; Hermann, *Gregorii Nyssæ sententiæ de salute adipiscentes.* See also the various Church Histories.

FUNERAL ORATION ON MELETIUS

Gregory of Nyssa.

The funeral oration on Meletius was delivered at Constantinople during the Council of Constantinople in 382 A.D. Meletius was the Bishop of Antioch and was attending the Council, of which he was the first president. Gregory, although the Bishop of an insignificant town, had delivered the sermon at the opening of the Council, and was now called upon to pronounce the eulogy on its presiding officer. To modern taste, the eulogy seems overwrought and artificial, but, as in the case of the speeches of many of the most eminent orators of the East, there was doubtless an elaborate dramatic delivery which rendered the effect less tawdry.

THE late apostle has enlarged for us the number of the Apostles, having been called into the Apostolic order. For the saints have drawn to themselves one of like nature; the crowned athletes, a crowned athlete; the pure in heart, one chaste of soul; the ministers of the Word, another herald of the Word. Most blessed be our father for his fellowship with the Apostolic band, and his departure to be with Christ! Unhappy indeed are we! for our premature orphanhood forbids us to felicitate ourselves on our father's good fortune. For him indeed it was better to depart and be with Christ, but hard to us is the

deprivation of his fatherly care. Behold! now is the time for counsel; but the voice of our counsellor is silent. War now encompasses us,—the war of heresy; but our commander is no more. The general body of the Church is wasted with disease; but we do not find our physician. See in what straits we are!

Would that it were possible for me to nerve my weakness, and, rising to the question of our bereavement, give utterance to sentiments adequate to the depth of our sorrow, as have done these noble members of your order who have with great eloquence bewailed the loss of their father. But what can I do? How shall I force my tongue to the service of my theme, thus heavily oppressed and shackled, as it were, by the weight of this calamity? How shall I open my mouth, seized with speechlessness? How shall I freely raise my voice, habitually sinking to the dull tones of wailing and lamentations? How shall I lift up the eyes of my soul, which are enveloped in this darkness of misfortune? Who will scatter for me this deep, dark cloud of sorrow, and again reveal to me, out of a clear sky, the bright ray of peace? Whence will that ray now beam, since our star has set? O evil, moonless night, that gives no hope of any star!

How contrary are the words now uttered to those lately spoken in this place! Then we joyed

in marriage rites ; now we utter piteous lamentations at our loss. Then we sang the epithalamium ; now the funeral dirge. For you recall that day when we feasted you at that spiritual marriage, and conducted the virgin bride to the home of her noble bridegroom ; when, as best we could, we presented our wedding gift of praise, bestowing and receiving joy intense. But now our joy has been changed into mourning, and our festal robe has become sackcloth. Perchance it were better to hide our grief and cover our sorrow in silent seclusion, that we may not disturb the children of the bride-chamber, as we have not on the bright wedding-garment, but are clothed instead in the sable robe of the preacher. For since the noble bridegroom left us, we have suddenly become clad in a black robe of sorrow ; nor can we any more engage, as was our wont, in cheerful converse, since Envy has despoiled us of our appropriate raiment.

Rich in blessings came we to you ; naked and poor take we our leave. We held a resplendent torch shining above our head ; this we take away extinguished, the bright flame dissipated in smoke and ashes. We had our great treasure in an earthen vessel ; now the treasure has disappeared, and the earthen vessel, emptied of its rare contents, is restored to those who gave it.

What shall we say, who have handed it over ?

What will those who demanded it back answer? O pitiable shipwreck! How, even in the mouth of the harbor, we have made havoc of our hopes! How has the vessel, laden with rich stores of merchandise, sunk with all its cargo and left us, once so rich, in destitution! Where is that bright sail, which was always guided by the Holy Ghost? Where is that secure helm of our souls, by means of which we steered harmlessly through the most violent tempests of heresy? Where is that anchor of intelligence, both sure and steadfast, by means of which we rested from our labors in perfect safety? Where is that good pilot who directed our bark to its heavenly goal? Is then this sad occurrence of little consequence, and do I grieve for naught? Or rather do I not fall short of our loss, though I raise my voice beyond measure in speaking? Lend me, brethren, lend me the tear of sympathy. When you rejoiced, we shared your rejoicing; afford us then the sad recompense. "Rejoice with them that do rejoice." This we have done. "Weep with them that weep." This we ask of you in return.

A nation of strangers once joined in lamentations over the death of the patriarch Jacob, and made another's calamity their own, when his children had borne their father from the land of Egypt to bring him to another country. For thirty days and thirty nights the tears of strangers

were mingled with the tears of family and friends in lamentation for his loss. Ye then who are brethren and kinsmen, imitate those of another blood. Shed tears in common now, for the grief is common. Behold these your patriarchs! All these are children of our Jacob. All are born of the free-woman; no one is base-born, no one supposititious. For indeed it would have been unbecoming in that saint to admit a bondwoman's offspring into the household of faith. Therefore is he our father, because he is the father of our father.

Ye have just heard the wonderful story told by an Ephraim and a Manasseh concerning their father, the marvels of which surpass description. Allow me also to speak on these things. For henceforth the beatification of him is without risk. Nor do I fear Envy; for what worse ill can it do me?

Know then the manner of man he was—one of the nobility of the East, blameless, just, sincere, devout, innocent of every evil deed. Indeed the great Job will not be envious, if one who imitated him be praised in the very terms that are said of himself. But Envy, that observeth all fair things, looked with bitter eye upon our blessedness; and she who stalks throughout the earth entered also amongst us, and left the mark of affliction on our blessed state. It is not herds of cattle or flocks of

sheep that have been injured by her, unless in a mystical sense one use the flock as a metaphor of the Church. Not in these respects have we been maltreated by Envy; nor has she robbed us of asses and camels, nor tortured us by bodily wounds: but she has deprived us of our head. And with that head we have lost the precious organs of the senses. No longer do we possess the eye that beheld the things of heaven; nor the ear that harkened to the divine voice; nor the tongue that was dedicated to truth. Where is that sweet benignity of his eyes? Where that kindly smile upon his lips? Where that affable right hand with fingers stretched forth in pronouncing the benediction? I feel led on to give loud utterance to our calamity, as if I were upon the stage.

O Church, I pity you! To you I speak, O city of Antioch! I pity you for this sudden reversal of fortune. How you have been stripped of your glory! How robbed of your beauty! How suddenly has the flower faded! Verily "the grass withereth and the flower fadeth." What evil eye, what base bewitchment has cast its deadly spell upon that Church? What compensation is there for her loss? The fountain has failed. The river has dried up. Water has again been turned into blood! O unhappy message, that brings to the Church the story of suffering! Who will tell the

children that they have been bereft of a father? Who will tell the bride that she has become a widow? Woe for their misfortune! What did they send forth? What did they receive back? They sent forth an ark; they received back a coffin. The ark, my brethren, was that man of God; an ark containing in itself divine mysteries. Within was the golden vessel, full of the divine manna, full of heavenly food; within were the tables of the Covenant, inscribed on the tablets of the heart, not with ink, but by the Spirit of the living God; for no black and gloomy thought was imprinted on that pure heart. Within, also, were the pillars, the pedestals, the chapters, the lamp, the mercy-seat, the lavers, the veils of the entrances. Within was the rod of the priesthood, which budded in his hand; and whatever else we have heard the Ark of the Covenant contained was all contained in the soul of that man.

But in their stead what? Let speech grow silent. Cloths of pure white linen, and scarfs of silk; an abundance of perfume and spices, the loving gift of a modest and beautiful lady. For let what she did for the Priest be told as a memorial of her, when without stint she poured upon his head the alabaster box of ointment. But what is the treasure preserved within? Bones, now lifeless, which even before dissolution had taught the sad lesson of mortality, the sorrowful memorials of our loss.

Oh, what a cry shall again be heard in Rama, Rachel weeping, not for her children, but for her husband, and who will not be comforted! Leave off, ye bringers of consolation; leave off; seek not to console. Let the widow indulge her grief to its depths. Let her feel the loss which she has suffered.

Yet she is not without experience in separation, for in the contests of our athlete she has grown accustomed to being parted from her spouse. Certainly you remember the narrative in an earlier discourse of the struggles of the man, how in the very number of his contests he has upheld the honor of the sacred Trinity. Three in number were the attacks he had to repel. You have heard a continuous account of his trials, how he comported himself in the first, how in the second, how in the last. I regard as superfluous the repetition of what has been so well said, yet it may not be unbecoming to add just this. When that noble Church first saw the man, she saw a countenance formed after the image of God; she beheld love welling forth, grace diffusing from his lips, the very quintessence of humility of soul; she observed the gentleness of a David, the understanding of a Solomon, the goodness of a Moses, the uprightness of a Samuel, the chastity of a Joseph, the wisdom of a Daniel; she saw one endowed with a zeal for the faith like that of the great Elijah, with purity of body as of the high-minded John, with an

unsurpassable love like that of Paul. She saw such an assemblage of noble traits in one soul, and, filled with spiritual devotion, she loved her bridegroom with a pure and virtuous affection. But before her longing attained its satisfaction, while still in the fervor of her first love, the stress of the times summoned the athlete to his contests, and she was left desolate. Yet during the period of his toilsome struggle for the cause of righteousness, she remained pure and kept the marriage vow. During the long interval of separation, one with adulterous intent sought to intrude upon the purity of that bridal-chamber. But the bride remained undefiled. Again there was a return, and again an exile. And this happened again the third time, when the Lord, scattering the clouds of heaven and sending forth the bright ray of peace, gave some hope of respite from these continued troubles. But when finally they saw each other again, and that chaste love and those spiritual joys were renewed, and again the flame of love burned bright, all at once this last departure interrupts their blissful intercourse.

He came to adore you as his bride and to celebrate the nuptials, nor did he undertake this in vain. He crowned this beautiful union with the chaplets of blessing, in imitation of his Master. As did the Lord at Cana of Galilee, so here did this imitator of Christ. The Jewish water-pots were filled with the waters of heresy; and this he

changed by the power of his faith, and made them full of pure wine. Often did he place before you a chalice, containing no wine but the pure wine of grace, poured out plenteously with his sweet voice; often too he presented you with the bountiful feast of reason. He first spoke his words of blessing; and then his noble disciples engaged in distributing his teachings among the multitude.

We too rejoice, making our own the glory of your nation. Up to this point how happy has been our glory! How happy it would be to end our sermon here! But after this what follows? "Call for the mourning women," says Jeremiah the prophet. Only by sobs and tears, can the burning heart, bursting with grief, find solace and relief. Heretofore we stood the pang of separation, consoled by the hope of his return; but now he has been wrenched from us by this final separation. Between him and the Church a great gulf has been fixed. He rests in Abraham's bosom, but there is no one to bring the drop of water to cool the parched tongue of the bereaved. That beauty is gone, that voice is hushed, those lips are closed, that grace has fled. Our happy lot has become a tale that is told. There came sorrow formerly to the people of Israel, because Elijah was translated from earth to God. But they found solace in Elisha, who was adorned with the mantle of his

master. But now, alas! our wound is incurable, for our Elijah has been taken from us, and no Elisha is left behind in his place.

You have heard the wonderful lamentations of Jeremiah, when he bewailed the deserted city of Jerusalem; who, among other expressions of the deepest sorrow, uttered this: "The ways of Zion do mourn." These words were spoken then, but now they have been fulfilled. For when the report of our bereavement shall have been spread abroad, then will the ways be filled with mourners, and the sheep of his flock will throng the streets, imitating the Ninevites in their cries of distress; or rather they will mourn much more bitterly than they. For in their case mourning relieved their fear; but to these no cessation of their grief is hoped for from their tears.

I know also another utterance of Jeremiah, occurring in the Book of Psalms, which he made over the captivity of Israel. The verse is as follows: "We hanged our harps upon the willows," condemning themselves as well as their harps to silence. I make this song my own. For whenever I see this turmoil of heresy (the turmoil is Babylon), and the flood of trials it brings upon us, I say that "these are the waters of Babylon beside which we sit down and weep," because we have no guide to conduct us through them. Even if you speak of the willows and the harps hanging

upon them, I appreciate also this part of the figure. For in truth our life is a willow, as the willow is a fruitless tree, and the sweet fruit of life has left us. Hence we have become fruitless willows, on which are suspended harps of love that have become idle and unvibrating. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem," he adds, "let my right hand be forgotten." Allow me to make a slight change in the text, for it is not we who have forgotten our right hand, but our right hand has forgotten us; and the tongue, cleaving to the roof of his mouth, has interfered with the utterance of his words, so that we can never again hear his sweet voice. But let me wipe away my tears; for I feel that it does not become me to indulge in womanish sorrow at our bereavement.

Our bridegroom has not been taken from us. He stands in the midst of us, though we see him not. The Priest is in the holy place, entering into that within the veil, whither our forerunner Christ entered for us. He has left behind him the tabernacle of the flesh. No longer does he revere the types and shadows of heavenly things, but he observes the very embodiment of these realities. No longer through a glass darkly does he intercede with God, but face to face; and he intercedes in our behalf and for the shortcomings of the people. He has laid aside the coats of skin, for there is no need of such to those who live in

Paradise. But he adorns himself with the raiment which the purity of his life has woven. "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of such a man"; or rather this is not death, but the weakening of bonds, as it is said, "Thou hast broken my bonds asunder." Simeon has obtained his leave, he has been freed from the chains of the body. The "snare is broken and the bird has flown away." He has left Egypt behind, this gross material life; he has crossed, not the Red Sea, but the black and gloomy sea of life. He has entered the land of promise, and "holds high converse" with God upon the Mount; he has loosed the sandal of his soul, that with the pure step of thought he may tread that holy land, where God is to be seen.

As ye have, therefore, this consolation, brethren, ye who are conveying the bones of Joseph to the place of blessing, hear the exhortation of Paul: "Sorrow not as others who have no hope." Speak to the people there; recount the glorious story. Tell of the incredible marvel, how the thousands of people, so densely packed together as to seem like a sea of heads, became all one continuous body, surging like water about the procession bearing his remains. Tell them how the noble David distributed himself in divers ways among the numberless ranks of people, among men of the same and of different language. Tell them how on

both sides the streams of fire, from the succession of torches, flowed along in a continuous track of light, and stretched so far that the eye could not follow them. Recount the zeal of all the people at his joining the number of the Apostles; how the napkins were snatched from the face to serve as amulets for the people. Add to your narration how the Emperor sorrowed over the misfortune and rose from his throne, and how the whole city took part in the funeral procession of the saint. Furthermore, console each other with these words: Solomon offers the right remedy for sorrow; for he prescribes that wine be given to those affected with sorrow; saying this to us, who are laborers in the vineyard. Give, therefore, your wine to those who are sorrowful; not that wine working drunkenness, plotting against the senses, and destroying the body, but the wine that gladdens the heart, which the Prophet commended when he said, "Wine maketh glad the heart of men." Pledge each other in that undiluted wine, and in the unstinted cups of the word of the Spirit, so that our mourning may be turned into joy and gladness, through the grace of the only begotten Son of God, through whom be glory to God, even the Father, for ever and ever. Amen.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

ON THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

[Selection.] *Gregory of Nyssa.*

The following selection from a sermon entitled, "A Sermon for the Day of Lights," is of uncertain date. As the name implies, the discourse was written for the feast of the Epiphany, which in the Eastern Church is especially associated with the baptism of the Lord. It was probably delivered at Nyssa. The whole sermon is not given, but the selection is sufficient to give a correct idea of Gregory's preaching.

CHRIST, then, was born as it were but a few days ago, He who traced his generation beyond that of all sensible and spiritual natures. To-day He is baptized by John, that He might cleanse the sinful and the defiled, that He might bring down to earth the Spirit from above, and exalt man to heaven; to lift up the fallen and to put to shame him who had cast him down. Wonder not that God was so zealous in human affairs: with earnestness we were plotted against by the source of all evil; with forethought on the part of our Creator we were saved from his wiles. And he, malignant charmer, devising sin to destroy our race, took the form of a serpent, a disguise worthy of his vile intent, and entered into a creature of hypocrisy like unto

himself, he, earthly and infernal in his purpose, dwelling in that creeping thing. But Christ, who overcomes the results of his evil-doing, takes the form of the perfect man, and redeems mankind, and becomes the type and exemplar of us all, to sanctify the source of all action and to leave among His followers an indubitable zeal for the holy covenant.

Baptism, accordingly, is an expiation for transgression of sins, a source of renewal and of regeneration. Understand regeneration, moreover, as conceived in thought, not discerned by the eyes. For we shall not, according to the Jew, Nicodemus, and his rather dull intelligence, change the old man into the child; nor shall we transform the wrinkled and gray-haired old man into the tender youth, or bring the man back again into his mother's womb; but we do bring back, by the grace of God, him who is scarred by the marks of sin and who has grown old in evil ways, to the innocence of the babe. For as the new-born child is free from accusations and from penalties, so likewise the child of regeneration has no charge to meet, being released by divine favor from accountability. And this gift is not bestowed by the water (for if this were so it would be more sublime than all creation), but held by the direct command of God and the visitation of the Spirit, that comes down mystically for our salvation. But water serves as a symbol of the cleansing. For since

water serves to render our bodies pure when defiled by dirt or mud, we apply it likewise in the sacrament, signifying thereby the incorporeal splendor in terms manifest to the senses.

Let us, however, if it seems well, pursue our inquiry more fully and more in detail concerning baptism, starting as it were from the fountain-head with the declaration of the Scripture, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Why therefore are both mentioned, and the Spirit alone not deemed sufficient for the completion of baptism? Man is composite, and not simple, as we well understand; and accordingly cognate and similar remedies are applied to his cure, to him who is of a double and composite nature: for his body, which is visible, water, the sensible element; for his soul, which is imperceptible, the Spirit invisible, summoned by faith, unspeakably present. For "the Spirit bloweth where He listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence He cometh nor whither He goeth." He blesseth the water that baptizeth, and the body that is baptized. Wherefore despise not the divine bath, and make not thou it common, nor belittle it, because of the use of water. For the energizing power within it is great, and wonderful are the things that it accomplisheth. Furthermore, this holy altar, by which we stand, is of

stone and common in its nature, differing in no respect from the other slabs of stone of which our houses are built and our pavements are adorned. But since it has been dedicated to the service of God, and received the benediction, it is a sacred table, an immaculate altar, no longer to be touched by all, but only by the priests, and by them with reverence. The bread again was heretofore common bread, but when it is consecrated for the sacrament it becomes and is called the body of Christ. Similarly of the sacramental oil, similarly of the wine; though of little value before the benediction, after their sanctification by the Spirit each of them performs its several work.

The same power of the work likewise makes the priest venerable and honored, being set apart from the mass of men by his new benediction. For though yesterday and in previous times he was one of the multitude and of the people, he is suddenly transformed into a guide, a president, a teacher of righteousness, an expounder of hidden mysteries. And he performs these offices without being changed at all in body or in form. But being to all outward appearance just what he was before, by some unseen power and grace his invisible soul has been raised to a higher place. And you will observe that there are many things which, though contemptible in outward appearance, yet have wrought wonders; you will observe

that this is the case when you gather from ancient history instances similar to our subject of inquiry. The rod of Moses was of hazel-wood. And what is that but a common wood, which every hand cuts and carries and makes of it what it chooses, and which is thrown at will into the fire? But when God willed through that rod to bring to pass His wonders, surpassing language in their magnitude, the rod was changed into a serpent. And again he smote the waters, and now changed the water into blood, now caused an innumerable swarm of frogs to come forth; and again he divided the sea, severed to its depths, so as not to float together again. Likewise the mantle of one of the prophets, though it was but a goat's skin, spread the fame of Elisha throughout the inhabited world. So the wood of the Cross brought salvation to all men, notwithstanding that it is, as I have heard, of an inferior kind of tree, less esteemed than are most others. Also, a bramble bush revealed to Moses the presence of God; and the remains of Elisha restored the dead to life; also, clay gave sight to him blind from the womb. And all these, though they were of inanimate materials, after they had received the power of God were instrumental in performing great miracles.

Now by a similar course of reasoning water also, though nothing but water, renews the man

by regeneration, when divine grace hath blessed it. And if any one presents difficulties and raises doubts by inquiring continually how water, and the sacramental act connected therewith, cause regeneration, I reply to him most justly: "Show me the mode of generation which is after the flesh, and I will show you the mode of regeneration which is after the spirit." You will say, perchance, as if giving some reason, "The seed is the cause which makes the man." Hear in reply then from us, that consecrated water cleanses and illumines the man. And if you oppose your "How?" I shall more earnestly cry out in reply, "How does the fluid and formless substance become the man?" And then the argument will proceed through all creation. How does heaven exist? how earth? how sea? how every single thing? For at all points mere reasoning, dumfounded in the search, takes refuge in this syllable, "how?" as the maimed seek for a seat. And to express the matter in few words, everywhere the divine power and efficacy is incomprehensible, incapable of being expounded by reason or art, creating and producing eagerly whatever it wishes, while concealing from us the minute knowledge of its workings. Wherefore the blessed David, when he surveyed the marvels of creation and was filled with perplexity and wonder in his soul, pronounced that song of praise familiar to all:

"O Lord, how manifold are Thy works; in wisdom hast Thou made them all." The wisdom he perceived; but the art attending the wisdom he could not discover.

Let us cease to inquire then into what is beyond human power, and seek rather what is partly within our grasp. For what reason is the cleansing effected through water? and why are the three immersions administered? That which the father taught, and to which our minds have given assent, is as follows: We recognize four elements, of which the world is constituted, which we all know without mentioning their names. Yet it is well for the sake of the more simple to call their names: they are, fire and air, earth and water. When therefore our God and Savior was fulfilling the dispensation undertaken for our sakes, He went beneath one of these four, the earth, that He might raise up life from thence. And we, in receiving baptism, in imitation of our Lord and Teacher and Guide, are not indeed buried in the earth (for this is the covering of the body when altogether dead, enveloping the weakness and decay of our nature), but by entering into the water, the element nearest akin to earth, we conceal ourselves therein as the Savior did in the earth; and when we do this three times, we exemplify the grace of the Resurrection, which was accomplished in three days; and in doing this we

do not receive the sacrament in silence, but there are pronounced over us the names of the sacred Trinity, on whom we believe, in whom we hope, and from whom we derive our present and our future existence.

. . . . . .

Moreover, do ye all who rejoice in the gift of regeneration and make your boast in the renewal through salvation, show me after the sacramental grace the change in conduct and transformation of character through the purity of your daily walk and conversation. For none of the things which are seen by the eye are changed ; the characteristics of the body and the mould of the features are just the same. But there must be some manifest indication through which we may recognize the newborn man, discerning by absolute tokens the new from the old. These, I think, consist in the voluntary movements of the soul, by which it separates itself from the manner of the old life and determines for itself a new line of conduct. By this it will show to those who know it that it has become something different from what it was formerly, and bears about with it no mark of the old self. This is the manner of the transformation, if you will accept my word. The man who was before baptism licentious, covetous, grasping, a reviler, a liar, a slanderer, and all else akin to these things

and resulting from them, now becomes well-behaved, prudent, content with his own and giving of it to those in want, truthful, courteous, affable —in a word, practising every praiseworthy deed. For as darkness disappears at the approach of light, and black fades away when white is spread over it, so the old man disappears when adorned with the works of righteousness.

Thou seest how Zaccheus by the transformation in his life slew the publican, restored fourfold to those whom he had unjustly defrauded, and the rest of his goods, which by oppressing the poor he had formerly accumulated, he gave to the poor. The Evangelist Matthew, another publican, of the same occupation with Zaccheus, straightway after his call changed his manner of life, as if it had been a mask. Paul was a persecutor; but after his conversion he became an Apostle, bearing heavy fetters for Christ's sake as an expression of his penitence and amends for those unjust bonds which he had received from the Lord and used against the Gospel. Such it is fitting that regeneration should be; so should the ways of sin be blotted out; so should the sons of God conduct themselves; for after the bestowal of His grace we are called His children.

Hence we should closely study the traits of our father, that by conforming ourselves to His likeness we may become true sons of Him who hath

called us to the adoption according to His grace. For the bastard and the supposititious son, who by his deeds belies and falsifies the nobility of his father, is a heavy disgrace. Accordingly the Lord Himself seems to prescribe to us the rules of living, when He uses these words to His disciples: "Do good to those that hate you, pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." For He says they become sons at the time when upon their thoughts and purposes, after the pattern of their Father's goodness, they have impressed the stamp of loving-kindness toward their kindred and neighbors.

For this reason it is that after the dignity of adoption the devil more vehemently seeks to ensnare us, wasting away with envious glances when he beholds the beauty of the new-born man hastening to the heavenly city, from which he himself has fallen; and he makes ready for us fiery temptations, seeking to rob us also of this second glory, as he did of our former adornment. But when we receive his attacks we should repeat to ourselves the Apostolic injunction: "As many of us as were baptized into Christ were baptized into His death." Now if we have been conformed to His death, sin is henceforth surely dead

in us, transfixed by the javelin of baptism, just as the fornicator was pierced through by the zeal of Phinehas. Flee therefore from us, ill-omened one! For thou art seeking to despoil a corpse, which formerly was joined to thee, but has now lost its sense for pleasure. A corpse is not enamored of bodies, a corpse is not taken by riches, a corpse traduces not, lies not, takes not those things which belong not to it, reviles not those who come in contact with it. My manner of living is now governed by the rules of another life. I have learned to despise the things of this world, to shun the allurements of earth, and hasten to seize the joys of heaven, just as Paul expressly testifies that the world is crucified to him and he to the world. This is the expression of a soul truly regenerated; these are the utterances of the newly baptized man, mindful of his own profession which he made to God in the administration of the sacrament, promising that he would despise all pain and pleasure alike for the sake of love toward Him.

We have now spoken sufficiently on the sacred subject of the day, which the revolving year brings to us at stated periods. It will be well to devote the rest of our discourse to the loving Bestower of so great a blessing, offering to Him a few words in return for bountiful gifts. For Thou, verily, O Lord, art the pure and peculiar fountain of goodness, who didst justly turn away from us,

and in mercy have compassion upon us; Thou didst hate, and wast reconciled; Thou didst curse, and didst bless; Thou didst banish us from paradise, and again call us back; Thou didst strip off our fig-leaves, — unseemly covering, — and didst cast about us a costly garment; Thou didst open the prison-doors, and didst set free the condemned; Thou didst sprinkle us with pure water, and didst cleanse us of our filthiness.

No longer shall Adam blush when called by Thee, nor hide from Thee, condemned by his conscience, cowering for shame in the dense grove of paradise. Nor shall the flaming sword encircle paradise, forbidding entrance to those who approach; but all is changed to joy for us who were the heirs of sin.

Paradise, even heaven itself is now accessible to man; and the whole creation, mundane and supermundane, which was formerly at variance, is now knit together in closest union. And men may now unite in song with the angels, offering their thanksgivings to God. For all these benefits towards us, let us sing that hymn of praise to God, which prophetic lips touched by the Spirit long ago sang with fervor: "Let my soul be joyful in the Lord; for He hath clothed me with the garment of salvation, He hath covered me with the robe of gladness; as on a bridegroom, He hath set a mitre upon me, and as a bride hath He

adorned me with fair array." And verily the adorner of the bride is the Christ, who is, and was, and ever shall be blessed, now and forevermore. Amen.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN

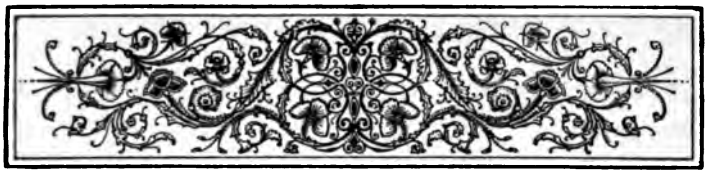
Gregory Nazianzen was born at Arianzus, a little place near Nazianzus, about the year 330 A.D. His father, though a recent convert to Christianity, was, about the time of the birth of Gregory, made Bishop of Nazianzus. At Cæsarea, where he studied, Gregory made the acquaintance of Basil. His subsequent studies were at Cæsarea in Palestine, Alexandria, and at Athens, whither Basil had gone. In his oration on Basil he gives an account of this university life at Athens. Gregory's disposition and bent were toward asceticism and a life of retirement, but fate seemed always to force him into publicity. His father, at the desire of the people of Nazianzus, almost forcibly ordained him deacon and priest. After this Basil compelled him, in 372, to take the bishopric of Sasima. Gregory was unable to remain here long on account of political commotions, but the action of Basil produced a lasting estrangement. He retired to Nazianzus and assisted his father in the management of the diocese, but in 374, after his father's death, Gregory withdrew to Seleucia. In 379, the orthodox party in Constantinople besought him to come to that city and assume the bishopric, and Theodosius, the Emperor, joined in this request. During his brief occupancy of this see, the Council of Constantinople was convened, and after the death of Meletius he became the president of the Council. Having become involved in a dispute with an adventurer, Maximus, who sought to oust Gregory from his see on the ground that the Nicene canons forbade the translation of bishops, he resigned, although the Council of Constantinople sanctioned his translation. He withdrew to Nazianzus to live in seclusion, and died there in 391.

Gregory was, without question, a natural orator, and his eloquence entitles him to a place among the greatest orators of antiquity. He very rarely preached from a text, and but

one sermon with text is extant. He was a master of all oratorical arts. His descriptions of nature are sympathetic ; his style is of a high order of excellence. He was able to use for moral ends the dryest theological statements and make them minister to religion. He is, however, too much given to exclamations and interminable strings of epithets. Everywhere he is too sensitive, too self-conscious.

The works of Gregory Nazianzen consist of forty-five orations, a considerable number of letters, and several hundred poems. The best edition of his works is the Benedictine, Paris, 1778–1842. There are translations of many works in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* second series, vii., New York, 1894.

The best works on Gregory Nazianzen are the lives by Ullmann and by Benoît. See also *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*



THE PANEGYRIC ON ST. BASIL

[Selection.] *Gregory Nazianzen.*

Basil the Great died in January, 379 A.D. By this time Gregory had become, in part at least, reconciled to him. The date of the Panegyric is uncertain, but is probably after Gregory's return to Nazianzus in June, 381. The oration as preserved is very long, and seems to have been amplified after its delivery. It is unanimously regarded as a work of great beauty and pathos, and its account of the youth of the two men is unusually interesting. Only a short selection can be given of this admirable production, which in the original fills no less than sixty-two pages folio.

IT has been ordained that the great Basil who used so constantly to furnish me subjects for my discourses, of which he was quite as proud as any man might be of his own, should now furnish me with the grandest subject which has ever fallen to the lot of an orator. For I think that if any one wished, in making trial of his powers of eloquence, to test them by the standard of that one of all his subjects which he preferred (as painters do with epoch-making pictures), he would choose what of all others stood first, but this he would set aside as beyond the powers of human eloquence. So great a task is the praise of such a man, not only to me, who have long ago laid

aside all thought of emulation, but even to those who devote their whole life to eloquence, and whose sole object is the gaining of glory by subjects like this. Such is my opinion, and, as I persuade myself, it is entirely just. But I know not what subject I can treat with eloquence, if not this ; or what greater favor I can do to myself, to the admirers of virtue, or to eloquence itself, than express our admiration for this man. To me it is the discharge of a most sacred debt. And our speech is a debt beyond all others due to those who have been gifted, in particular, with powers of speech. To the admirers of virtue, a discourse is at once a pleasure and an incentive to virtue. For when I have learned the praises of men, I have a distinct idea of their progress : now there is none of us all who does not have it within his power to attain to any point whatsoever in that progress. As for eloquence itself, in either case, all must go well with it. For, if the discourse be almost worthy of its subject, eloquence will give an exhibition of its power ; if it fall far short of it, as must be the case when the praises of Basil are set forth, by an actual demonstration of its incapacity it will have declared the superiority of the excellencies of its subject to all expression in words.

Who more than Basil honored virtue or punished vice ? Who evinced more favor toward the

Gregory Nazianzen.
From an old print.

these sources he trained and disciplined the characters of all; he taught loftiness of thought, and, withdrawing men from things present, he directed them to the things to come.

The sun is praised by David for his beauty and magnitude, for the swiftness of his course and his power, resplendent as a bridegroom, mighty as a giant. Its circuit has such power that it sheds light from one end of heaven to the other, and distance lessens not the power of its beams. But the beauty of Basil was virtue; his greatness, theology; his course, perpetual activity, ever tending upward to God; his power, the sowing and distribution of the Word. So that I need not hesitate to apply to him the language which St. Paul, borrowing from David, applies to the Apostles, that his sound went into all lands, and the power of his words to the ends of the world. What other source of pleasure at the present day in our assemblies? What at our banquets, in the forum, in the churches? What constitutes the delight alike of magistrates and private citizens, of monks and of those who mingle in society, of men of business and of men of leisure, of the votaries of profane and of sacred science? The one all-pervading and highest source of enjoyment is the writings and labors of Basil. Nay, even to writers, he is the sole material of their works. The ancient commentaries on the divine

records cease to be heard; the new take their place; and he stands first in sacred eloquence who best knows the writings of Basil, and most frequently utters his words and explains them in our ears. A single man more than suffices as a substitute for all others to the training of the studious.

I mention but this single instance. When I explore the pages or repeat the words of his Hexæmeron, I am brought into the presence of the Creator; I understand the laws of the creation; and employing only the sense of sight as my teacher, more than ever before I admire the Creator. When I read his books against the heretics, I see the fires of Sodom, by which men of impious and lawless tongues are reduced to ashes, or the Tower of Babel, impiously built and righteously overthrown. When I read his writings on the Spirit, I find the God whom I possess reveals Himself, and I declare the truth with boldness, on account of the support of his theology and contemplation. His other treatises, in which, for those of dull intellect, he gives explanations in a threefold way, inscribing them on the solid tablets of his heart, persuaded me to stay no longer by the literal or merely symbolical interpretation; but to pass beyond, to go on from depth to depth, one deep calling another, amid discovering light after light, till I reach the utmost limit of truth. When I study his

panegyrics on the martyrs, combatants for the faith, I despise the body, and, joining the company of those he praises, I am incited to the same struggle. When I read his ethical and practical discourses, they purify me, soul and body, and make me a fitting temple of God, an instrument played upon by the Spirit, hymning forth the divine power and glory. Thus am I reduced to harmony and order, and through successive stages transformed with a divine transformation.

Since I have spoken of theology and of his sublime treatises in this science, I wish yet to add the following. For it is eminently desirable that the multitude should not receive harm themselves by having an unjustifiably low opinion of his piety. My remarks are directed specially against those base persons who, by calumniating others, conceal their own depravity. For in defence of the orthodox doctrine and the union and co-equal Godhead of the Holy Trinity — to use terms as clear and exact as possible — he was ready not only to sacrifice his episcopal see, to which he never aspired, but to accept exile, death, and its preliminary tortures, not as evil but as gain. Witness, in proof of this, what he has actually endured. When condemned to banishment for the truth, he merely bade one of his attendants take up his writing tablet and follow him. But, following the counsel of David, he deemed it necessary to guide his

words with discretion, and thus, during the time of war and the reign of heresy, to forbear a little until a season of freedom and calm should be restored, admitting freedom of speech. They indeed aimed to assail the bare and naked declaration of "the Spirit of God" (a truth deemed impious by them and by their nefarious leader in impiety), in order that, banishing him and his religious teachings from the city, they might take possession of the Church, and making it the starting-point and stronghold of their wickedness, thence, as from a citadel, they might overrun and devastate with their wicked doctrine the whole world. He, meanwhile, by other Scripture terms, and unambiguous testimonies having the same import, as well as by unanswerable reasonings, so overpowered his opponents that they were unable to assail him, and — which is the highest triumph of power and skill in argument — were held fast in the fetters of their own chosen expressions. Take in proof his discourse on the subject in which he used his pen as under the very impulse of the Spirit. The exact term, nevertheless, he forbore for a time to use, begging his fellow-champions of the faith and the Spirit Himself not to be displeased at his proceeding, nor, amid the temporary distractions of the faith, sacrifice the whole cause by tenacious adherence to a word. He assured them that no harm would accrue by a slight

change of terms, or by conveying the truth in other language. For our salvation does not depend upon words, but rather upon actions ; nor would we reject even the Jewish people, if, substituting the term " Anointed " for that of " Christ," they should be willing to rank themselves among His followers. But to the whole Christian body it would be a source of infinite harm that the Church should be seized by heretics.

That he held with the profoundest conviction that the Spirit is God is clear from his publicly proclaiming the doctrine on every occasion, and unhesitatingly avowing it when questioned in private. And in his communications to me, from whom he concealed nothing, he has spoken yet more clearly, not only affirming it, but in an unwonted manner imprecating upon himself the fearful doom of being abandoned of the Spirit if he failed to worship Him as consubstantial and co-equal with the Father and the Son. And if any one will regard me as a co-worker with him in this matter, I will explain one point not generally known. On account of the difficulties of the times, he was prudent in his expressions for himself, but allowed me entire freedom of speech, for I was not in danger of being dragged from my seclusion to trial or banishment. He did this in order that by our united efforts we might the more securely establish the Gospel. It is not for the sake of defending his reputation that

I have made these statements; for he is superior to all accusations. It is rather that none, regarding the terms employed by him as the law and limit of the truth, may have their faith shaken; that none may pervert his mode of discussion, produced by stress of circumstances and with the sanction of the Spirit, to the strengthening of their own error; but rather that, weighing the import and aim of his words, they may be drawn to the truth, and may seal the lips of the impious. To me, and to all who are dear to me, may his doctrines be an inheritance. Such is my conviction of his purity in this matter, that in this, as in other things, I would gladly unite my lot to his, and ask a common judgment alike from God and from all impartial men. None surely would affirm that the Evangelists conflict with each other, because some have dwelt at greater length upon the humanity of Christ, others attempted to show the heights of His divinity; some have commenced their account with what is within our experience, others with what is beyond and above our experience. For by their varying representations they have met the wants of those whom they addressed, being informed and actuated by the Spirit within them.

There have been, both in ancient and recent times, many men distinguished for piety,—lawgivers, generals, prophets, teachers, valiant even

to the shedding of their blood: let us compare our Basil with them, and thus recognize the merit of his virtues. Adam was deemed worthy of the fashioning hand of God, the delights of Paradise, and the first giving of the law. But, to say nothing irreverent of our great ancestor, he failed to keep the commandment. But Basil both received and kept it, was unharmed by the tree of knowledge, and, passing by the flaming sword, has, I am well assured, inherited Paradise. Enos first ventured to call upon the Lord; Basil both himself invoked Him and, what is yet more honorable, proclaimed Him to others. Enoch was translated as a reward for an imperfect piety (for his faith was yet amid shadows), and thus escaped the perils of after life; Basil's entire life was a translation, and he was proved to the end in a completed life. Noah was intrusted with the ark, and with the seeds of a new world, committed to a small vessel, and preserved amid the waters; Basil escaped a deluge of impiety, rendered his own city an ark of safety that floated lightly above the waves of heresy, and thus reclaimed the entire world. Abraham was illustrious, at once a Patriarch and the Priest of a new sacrifice, offering, to Him who had bestowed it, the child of promise, hastening a ready and cheerful victim to the altar. But not slight was the offering of Basil, who offered himself unto God, and that with no substitute

interposed to prevent the sacred rite from being consummated. Isaac was promised before his birth; but Basil voluntarily promised himself; and his bride, the Church, he wooed not from afar, but near at hand; not through the ministry of servants, but confided to him by the immediate hand of God. Nor was he overreached in assigning the precedence to his children; but such rewards as reason and the Spirit dictated he allotted to each according to their deserts. I extol the ladder of Jacob, the pillar which he anointed to God, and that wrestling with him which, in my opinion, was but the confronting of human weakness with the Divine Majesty, and whence he bears the tokens of a vanquished nature. I praise also his skilful devices with respect to the flocks of Laban, and the twelve Patriarchs his offspring, and the sublime prophetic foresight with which he bestowed on them his blessing. But in Basil I praise still more the ladder, not merely seen, but ascended by successive advances in virtue; the pillar which he did not anoint, but reared to God, a monument of the eternal infamy of the impious; his wrestling, not against God but for Him, in overthrowing the doctrines of the heretics; the pastoral skill by which he grew rich, having gained, as spiritual wealth, a number of marked sheep greater than the unmarked; the multitude of his spiritual children divinely

begotten; and the blessing with which he established many.

. . . . . .

Gather yourselves around me now, all ye his train; ye who bear office and ye of lower rank, ye who are from our own country and ye who are from abroad, aid me in celebrating his praises, by each supplying or demanding the account of his virtues. Princes, extol the lawgiver; politicians, the statesman; citizens, the orderly and exemplary citizen; votaries of learning, the instructor; virgins, the leader of the bride; wives, the teacher of chastity. Let the hermits commemorate him who lends them wings for their flight; cenobites, the judge; the simple-minded, the guide; the contemplative, the theologian; those in prosperity, the curber of pride; those in affliction, the consoler; age, its staff; youth, its guardian; poverty, its provider; abundance, its steward and dispenser. Methinks I hear the widows praising their protector; orphans, their father; the poor, their friend; strangers, the lover of hospitality; brethren, the brotherly minded; the sick, their physician, whatever be their sickness or the healing they need; the well, the preserver and guardian of health; all, in short, praise him who became all things to all that he might, if possible, gain all.

This tribute, O Basil, is offered to thee from a tongue once most delightful to thee, and which

shared in thy honor and companionship. If it approaches thy deserts, to thee be thanks, for, confiding in thee, I entered on this discourse. But if it fall far below thy merits and my hopes, it will be pardoned to one who is worn by age, disease, and sorrow for thee. But God accepts according to our ability. But do thou, O divine and sainted one, look upon us from above, and that thorn in our flesh which God has sent for our discipline, do thou remove by thine intercessions, or persuade us to bear with patience, and direct our entire life to that which shall be most for our profit. And when we depart hence, may we be received into thine own abode, that living together, and together surveying more purely and perfectly the Holy and Blessed Trinity, whose image we have but faintly received here, we may have our longings satisfied, and find a recompense for all our conflicts in propagation or defence of the truth. To thee, therefore, this tribute is rendered by us; but who shall render a like service to us, lingering in life after thee, if indeed we achieve anything worthy of commendation in Jesus Christ, our Lord, to whom be glory forever? Amen.

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

THE LAST FAREWELL

[Selection.] *Gregory Nazianzen.*

This oration was delivered at the Council of Constantinople in 381 A.D. Gregory had determined to resign his see and retire to his home, and in a long speech took leave of the city. His hearers were the one hundred and fifty bishops of the Eastern Church, as well as a great number of the populace. His reasons for resigning his office were not merely his opposition to the difficulties of his position, but he was, as he saw, an occasion of difficulty to the assembled bishops. The clamor that had been raised by his enemies on the ground of his translation to the see of Constantinople seriously embarrassed his colleagues in their attempts to bring peace into the Church. Under these circumstances he withdrew. The selection here given from this greatly admired speech is sufficient to show some of its beauties and its real pathos.

NOW, my friends, you have heard my defence of my being here; if it is worthy to be praised, gratitude therefor is due to God and to you who summoned me; if it has betrayed your hope, I am grateful even on this account. For I am certain that it has not been entirely worthy of blame, and I am sure that you also acknowledge this to be so. Have we in any manner made a profit from this populace? Have we in any manner looked to our own interests, as I observe is generally the way? Have we given any cause of wrath to the Church? Perhaps to others, whose

belief that they had obtained judgment by default against us we have opposed in our argument; but in no way, as far as I know, to you. "I have taken no ox of yours," as says the great Samuel in his argument against Israel concerning the king, "nor any propitiation for your souls, the Lord is witness among you," nor this, nor that, going on at more length, for I need not sum up every detail: but I have kept the priesthood pure and unalloyed. And if I have craved dominion, or the dignity of a throne, or to walk in the courts of kings, may I never gain any honor, or, if I do gain it, may I be cast down from it.

What then do I mean? I am no desirer of virtue without reward, not having reached such a high degree of righteousness. Give me the reward of my work. What reward? Not that which some, who are liable to suspect everything, would imagine, but that which it is proper for me to desire. Give me a rest from my long labors; give respect to my foreign service; elect in my room some one else, he who is being eagerly looked for in your interests, some one who is clean of hands, some one who is skilful in speech, some one who can please you in every way and share the ecclesiastical burden with you; for this is peculiarly the time when such a one is needed. But look, I beg you, at the condition of my body, so enfeebled by time and sickness and labor. What need have you of a

cowardly and womanish old man, who is, as it were, dying daily, not only bodily, but even mentally, who now finds it a hard task to speak these things to you? Do not disobey the command of your teacher; for in truth you have never yet disobeyed it. I am tired of being blamed for my gentleness. I am tired of being verbally and maliciously attacked by my enemies and by my own people. Some shoot at my breast, and are therefore unsuccessful in their attack, since an open enemy can be guarded against. Others wait until my back is turned, and cause greater suffering; for the unlooked-for shaft is the most dangerous.

Again, if I have been a pilot, I have been a very skilful one. The sea has raged about us, foaming around the vessel, and there has been a great deal of tumult among the passengers, who have been continually fighting about something or other and raging against one another and against the sea. What a struggle has been mine, placed at the helm, fighting with both the waves and the passengers, to pilot the vessel safely to harbor through this twofold storm! Even if they had upheld me in every way, it would have been difficult to gain safety; with them contending with me, what possibility was there to escape shipwreck?

What more needs to be said? How can I bear this holy war? For it is said that there has been a holy as well as a Persian war. How can I unite

and bring together the inimical occupants of sees, and hostile pastors, and the people divided with them and opposed to them, as if divided by gulfs made by earthquakes between allied and adjacent places ; or as happens to slaves and members of a family in time of pestilence, when the disease successively attacks one after another ?—and, worse yet, the very quarters of the earth are affected by the spirit of faction, so that East and West are ranked on opposing sides and promise to become as far divided in sentiment as in position. How long are you and I to have party divisions, old and new, material and spiritual, nobler and baser, more or less numerous ? I am ashamed that in my old age, after having been saved by Christ, I should be called by the name of others.

I cannot bear your horse-races and theatres, and your passion for excelling in lavishness, and the spirit of party. We unharness ourselves and harness ourselves on the other side, we neigh against one another, we almost fight the air, as horses do, and cast the dust toward the skies as they do when they are excited ; and under other guises we satisfy our own desire to excel, and become evil arbiters of emulation and foolish judges of business. To-day we support one dynasty and theory, if those who lead us guide us in that direction ; to-morrow, if the wind blows from the contrary direction, we become hostile in attitude and thought. Our very

titles change with the changes of friendship and hostility; and, worst of all, we do not shame to utter to the same audience opposite doctrines; nor are we faithful to the same things, our pugnacity making us change as the time changes. We shift as the ebb and flow of some narrow inlet. For as it would be most disgraceful and unfitting for us to leave our household affairs and join the children when they are playing in the middle of the market-place, because children's plays are not befitting to old age: so, when others are fighting, I would not permit myself, even if I am more learned than most, to join with them, instead of, as now, enjoying the freedom of obscurity. Besides all this, my feeling is that I do not agree with the majority in most things, and cannot bear to walk in the same path with them. Imprudent and foolish though the feeling may be, it is mine. What pleases others gives me pain, and what gives pain to others pleases me. So that it would not surprise me even if I were to be imprisoned as a pernicious man, and thought to be insane by most people—as is said to have been the case with a certain Greek philosopher, whose toleration caused him to be considered mad, since he laughed at everything, because he saw that those things were foolish which most people eagerly sought after; or even if I be thought to be drunken with wine, as the disciples of Christ were

in the days of old because they spoke with tongues; for men did not understand that this was the power of the Spirit and not a vagary of the intellect.

Now look at the accusations brought against me. It is said: You have been ruler of the Church for a long period, and have been favored by time and the influence of the sovereign — a very important matter. What change can we see? How many in past days have treated us shamefully! What sufferings have not been ours? Bad treatment? Threats? Banishment? Pillage? Confiscation? The burning at sea of priests? Desecration of the temples by the slaughter of the saints, until they were charnel-houses instead of temples? The public execution of aged bishops, or to speak more correctly, of patriarchs? The refusal of access, for the righteous only, to every place? Indeed, every kind of suffering which can be imagined? And for which of these wrongs have we retaliated on the evil-doers? For the wheel of fortune has given us the power to justly punish those who thus treated us, and our persecutors should have been taught a lesson. Besides everything else, and mentioning only our own experience apart from yours, have we not been persecuted, abused, driven from churches, houses, and, worst of all, even from the wilderness? Have we not been forced to bear with a furious populace, with arrogant governors, with the neglect of em-

perors and their decrees? What has been the result? We waxed strong and our persecutors betook themselves to flight. That was indeed the case. The power to retaliate on them seemed to me to be vengeance enough on our wrongers. But these men were of a different opinion; for they are extremely exact and just in requital; and so they demand what the state of affairs permits. What governor, they ask, has been fined? What populace has been punished? What leaders of the populace? What dread of our power have we been able to instil for the demands of the future?

Perhaps we shall be reproached, as before, with the delicate nature of our food, the splendor of our garb, the officials who march before us, our arrogance to those who approach us. I did not know that we should rival the consuls, the governors, the most famous generals, who cannot expend their incomes; or that our belly should crave to enjoy the goods of the poor and to spend in luxuries that which is necessary to them and belch forth upon the altar. I did not know that we should ride on superb horses, and drive in splendid chariots, and be preceded by a retinue and surrounded with acclamations, and have everybody make room for us, as if we were savage beasts, and open out a way so that our coming could be perceived at a distance.

If such sufferings have been sustained, they

have now disappeared. Forgive me this wrong. Elect another who will satisfy the majority, and give me my desert, my rural life, and my God, whom alone I shall have to please, and whom I shall please by my simple life. It is painful to be deprived of sermons and conferences, and public assemblies, and applause such as that which now gives wings to my thoughts, and relatives and friends, and honors, and the beauty and grandeur of the city, and its brilliancy, which dazzles those who look only at the surface and do not penetrate to the hidden nature of things; but it is not so painful as to be clamored against and calumniated amid popular disturbances and agitations, which trim their sails to the popular breeze. For the people do not desire priests, but orators; not stewards of souls, but treasures of money; not pure offerers of the Sacrifice, but powerful patrons. I will say this word for them: we have trained them to do this by becoming all things to all men, whether to save or destroy all I do not know.

What do you say? Are you convinced, have you been conquered by my words? Or must I use stronger words to convince you? Yea, by the Trinity Itself, whom you and I alike worship, by our common hope, and for the sake of unity among the people, grant me this boon: send me away with your prayers; let this be my proclamation of victory; give me my paper of discharge,

as kings give to their soldiers, and, if it pleases you, with testimony in my favor, that I may hold it as honorable; if not so, just as you will; this will not matter to me, until God decides the merits of my case. What successor shall we then elect? God will provide Himself a shepherd for the flock, as He once provided a lamb for a burnt-offering. I make only this further request: let him be one who will be envied, not pitied; one who will not yield all at the demand of any one, but who will sometimes resist for the sake of the right; for though the former is more agreeable, the latter is more serviceable. Prepare for me your addresses of dismissal; I will now bid you farewell.

Farewell, my Anastasia, whose name is fragrant with holiness; for thou hast exalted for us the teaching which was abased; farewell, scene of our common victory, new Shiloh, where, after having been borne around in its forty years of wandering in the wilderness, the tabernacle was first established. Farewell thou also, grand and renowned temple, our new inheritance, whose greatness is now due to the Word, which wast once a Jebus and hast now been made by us a Jerusalem. Farewell, all ye others, less in beauty than this alone, scattered through the different portions of the city like links uniting each your own neighborhood, which have been thronged by worshippers of whose coming we had despaired —

thronged, not by me, who am weak, but by the grace which was given me. Farewell, ye Apostles, noble residents, my leaders in the contest; if I have seldom kept festival with you, it has possibly been because of the thorn which I, like Saint Paul — one of yourselves — bear in my flesh for my own good, and which is the cause of my present departure. Farewell, my throne, envied but dangerous height; farewell, convocation of high priests, made honorable by the dignity and venerability of your members, and all ye other ministers of God at the altar, drawing near to the God who draws near to you. Farewell, choirs of Nazarites, harmonies of the Psalter, night-long stations, venerated virgins, decorous matrons, assemblies of widows and orphans, and ye eyes of the poor turned toward God and me. Farewell, ye households, hospitable and loved by Christ, which have helped my infirmity. Farewell, ye admirers of my sermons, in your enthusiasm and assemblage, ye seen and unseen pencils, and thou balustrade which those lean upon who push to the front to hear the Word. Farewell, emperor and palace, and ministers and household of the emperor, I know not whether faithful to him, but, as to most, unfaithful to God. Applaud, acclaim, extol to the skies your orator. This harsh and garrulous tongue has ceased to speak to you. Yet it will not entirely forbear speech; for it will

struggle with hand and ink; but for the present we have ceased to speak.

Farewell, great Christian city. I will testify to the truth, though your zeal does not accord with your knowledge. Parting makes us more tolerant. Seek the truth; be converted even at this late hour. Serve God more than you have been accustomed. To change is not disgraceful, while to cling to evil is fatal. Farewell, East and West, for and against whom I have been forced to fight; He is witness, who will give you peace if a few others will only share my retirement. For those who give up their high seats will not also lose God, but will have the throne above, which is far more exalted and safe. Last of all, and most of all, I cry: Farewell, ye angels who are guardians of this church and of my residence and journeyings, since our affairs are in God's hands. Farewell, O Trinity, my meditation and my glory. Mayest Thou be preserved by those present, and do Thou preserve them, my people—for they are mine, even if I am given a place elsewhere; and may I hear that Thou art always praised and glorified in word and deed. I pray you, my children, preserve that which is given into your keeping. Remember my stonings. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

Translated by the Editors of this volume.

CHRYSOSTOM

John of Antioch, known as St. John Chrysostom, was born at Antioch, the capital of Syria, about the year 347 A.D. His parents seem to have been of noble rank. His education, which was thorough, was finished in the rhetorical school of Libanius, a heathen teacher of considerable reputation. John first adopted the profession of an advocate, and meeting with flattering success, he was at the point of succeeding Libanius as the head of the school in which he had studied, when, at the solicitations of his mother, he was baptized. He at once gave up his profession, betook himself to the desert, and spent six years in study and self-mortification. On his return to Antioch in 381, he was ordained deacon and priest. By his oratorical talents, he acquired an immense reputation, and on the vacancy of the see of Constantinople, in 397, was appointed and consecrated to that important patriarchate. In this post he was able to win innumerable friends and admirers, but at the same time called down upon himself the hatred of the court by the austerities which he insisted should be practised by the clergy, and by his unsparing denunciation of vice in every rank of society. After a stormy episcopate of ten years he was driven into exile and died in 407.

Chrysostom is by many considered the greatest preacher of the Church. He combined in a harmonious whole the classical, the biblico-exegetical, the rhetorical, the popular, and the practical. He is preëminent in his power of rendering a subject clear, and to that end uses an immense number of illustrations. In him the exegete and the orator are combined in the highest degree, but he is much more restrained than his rivals, and always has a practical purpose.

The works of Chrysostom are very voluminous, and comprise innumerable homilies, orations, and expositions of Holy Scripture, a number of small treatises, and also liturgical works.

The best editions of the collected works of this Father are the edition of Savile, in eight volumes, folio, Eton, 1612, and the edition of Montfaucon, in thirteen volumes, folio, Paris, 1718-1738. The Paris edition is best known and has been reprinted several times. Translations into English have been published by the Christian Literature Company, New York. For life of Chrysostom see Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir a l'Histoire Ecclesiastique,* xi. (1706), 1–409 ; 547–626 ; Neander, *Der heilige Chrysostomus;* W. R. W. Stephens, *St. Chrysostom: His Life and Times,* London, 1872 ; Puech, *St. Jean Chrysostome et les mœurs de son temps,* Paris, 1891 ; Albert, *St. Jean Chrysostome comme prédicateur,* 1848. See also Cardinal Newman's *Historical Sketches,* and the articles in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* and in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie.*

ON THE STATUES

[Selection.] *Chrysostom.*

The homilies on the Statues have always been regarded as among the masterpieces of their author. They were delivered at Antioch in Syria in the Lent of 387, and were preached under the following circumstances: the Emperor Theodosius had already laid heavy taxes upon the city, and at last made a demand that surpassed all others. The principal men of the town attempted to reason with the imperial prefect, but the lowest classes broke out into a fearful riot. In the course of the disturbances, the statues of the Emperor Theodosius and his deceased wife Flaccilla were thrown down and dragged through the city with every sort of abuse and insult. The riot was finally put down only by force. When the people came to their senses, they were at once thrown into a paroxysm of fear. That they were justified in their apprehensions is clear from the awful fate of the inhabitants of Thessalonica a few years later. Under these conditions Chrysostom sought to quiet the people, to prepare them for any event, and to exhort them by an earnest repentance to turn away God's anger from them. The sermons were delivered for the most part on successive days. The selection that follows is from the fifth of these discourses. It was delivered on the first Tuesday in Lent, the day on which the imperial authorities arrived to investigate the sedition; the baths were closed, and the city deprived of its civil dignity.

TELL me, what is there in death which is terrible? Is it because it transports thee more quickly to the peaceful haven, and to that life which is free from tumult? Although man should not put thee to death, will not the very law of nature, at length stealing upon thee, separate the body from the soul? and if this event which

we fear does not happen now, it will happen shortly.

I speak thus, not anticipating any dread or melancholy event: God forbid! but because I am ashamed for those who are afraid of death. Tell me why, whilst expecting such good things as "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered the heart of man," thou dost demur about this enjoyment, and art negligent and slothful; and not only slothful, but fearful and trembling? What is it but shameful? Thou art in pain on account of death, when Paul groaned on account of the present life, and writing to the Romans said, "The creation groaneth together, and ourselves also which have the first-fruits of the Spirit do groan." And he spoke thus, not condemning the things present, but longing for the things to come. "I have tasted," saith he, "of the grace, and I cannot contain myself in the delay. I have the first-fruits of the Spirit, and I press on towards the whole. I have ascended to the third heaven; I have seen that glory which is unutterable; I have beheld the shining palaces; I have learned what joys I am deprived of, while I linger here, and therefore do I groan." For suppose any one had conducted thee into princely halls, and all the rest of the glorious show; if from thence he had led thee back afterward to a poor man's hut, and promised that in a short time he would bring thee back to

those palaces, and would there give thee a perpetual mansion ; tell me, wouldest thou not indeed languish with desire, and feel impatient, even at these few days ? Thus think then of heaven and of earth, and groan with Paul, not because of death, but because of the present life !

But give me, saith one, to be like Paul, and I shall never be afraid of death. Why, what is it that forbids thee, O man, to become like Paul ? Was he not a poor man ? Was he not a tent-maker ? Was he not a man of mean rank ? For if he had been rich and well born, the poor, when called upon to imitate his zeal, would have had their poverty to plead ; but now thou canst say nothing of this sort. For this man was one who exercised a manual art, and supported himself too by his daily labors. And thou, indeed, from the first hast inherited true religion from thy fathers, and from thy earliest age hast been nourished in the study of the sacred writings ; but he was "a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious," and ravaged the Church ! Nevertheless, he so changed all at once, as to surpass all in the vehemence of his zeal, and he cries out, saying, "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." He imitated the Lord ; and wilt not thou who hast been educated in piety from the first, imitate a fellow-servant ; one who by a great change was brought to the faith at a later period of life ? Knowest

thou not, that they who are in sin are dead whilst they live ; and that they who live in righteousness, although they be dead, yet they live ? And this is not my word. It is the declaration of Christ speaking to Martha, "He that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live." Is our doctrine, indeed, a fable ? If thou art a Christian, believe in Christ ; if thou believest in Christ, show me thy faith by thy works. But how mayest thou show this ? By thy contempt of death : for in this we differ from the unbelievers. They may well fear death, since they have no hope for a resurrection. But thou, who art travelling toward better things, and hast the opportunity of meditating on the hope of the future, what excuse hast thou, if, whilst assured of a resurrection, thou art yet at the same time as fearful of death as those who believe not in the resurrection ?

But I have no fear of death, says one, nor of the act of dying, but of dying basely, of being beheaded. Did John then, I ask, die basely ? for he was beheaded. Or did Stephen die basely ? for he was stoned ; and all the martyrs have thus died miserably, according to this objection : since some have ended their lives by fire, and others by the sword ; and others cast into the ocean, others down a precipice, and others into the jaws of wild beasts, have so come by their death. This, O man ! is not to die basely, to come to one's end

of a violent death, but to die in sin! Hear, at least, the prophet uttering wisdom on this very matter, and saying, "Evil is the death of sinners." He does not say that a violent death is evil; but what then? "Evil is the death of sinners." And justly so; for after the departure from this life, there is an intolerable punishment; torments that are immortal, the envenomed worm, the fire unquenchable, the outer darkness, the chains indissoluble, the gnashing of teeth, the tribulation, the anguish, and the eternal vengeance.

Since therefore such evils await sinners, what advantage can it be to them, though they should end their days at home, and in their bed? Even so, on the other hand, it can do no harm to the righteous to lay down the present life through sword, or steel, or fire, when they are to depart to the good things that are immortal. Truly "the death of sinners is evil." Such a death was that of the rich man, who despised Lazarus. He, when he had terminated his life by a natural end, at home and on his bed, and with his relatives about him, experienced on his departure a fiery torment; nor was he able to obtain there even a little comfort, out of all the pleasure he had enjoyed in the present life! But not so was it with Lazarus; lying upon the pavement, while the dogs came and licked his sores, he had suffered a violent death (for what could be more painful than hunger?);

but on his departing hence he enjoyed eternal blessings, luxuriating on the bosom of Abraham! In what respect, then, did it injure him that he died a violent death? or what did it profit the rich man, that he died not with violence?

But some one says, "We have no fear of the violence of the death, but of dying unjustly, and of being punished in a similar way with the guilty, —we who have had nothing to do with the crimes of which we are suspected." What sayest thou, tell me? Art thou afraid of dying unjustly, and wouldest thou wish to die justly? But who is there so wretched and miserable, that, when he had the alternative of dying unjustly, would rather depart by an act of justice? For if it be necessary to fear death, it is necessary to fear it when it comes upon us justly; since he indeed who dies unjustly is by this very means made a partaker with all the saints. For many of those who were approved and distinguished by God have submitted to an unjust end; and first of all Abel. For it was not that he had sinned against his brother, or done Cain any harm; but inasmuch as he had honored God, therefore was he slaughtered. But God permitted it. Was it, think you, because He loved him, and wished to make his crown the brighter, by that most unjust murder? Seest thou then, that it becomes us not to be afraid of dying by violence; not of dying unjustly: but of

dying in a state of sin? Abel died unjustly. Cain lived, groaning and trembling! Which then, I would ask, was the more blessed of the two: he who went to rest in righteousness, or he who lived in sin; he who died unjustly, or he who died justly punished? Would you have me declare unto you clearly whence it is that we are afraid of death? The love of the kingdom hath not penetrated us, nor the desire of things to come inflamed us: otherwise we should despise all present things, even as the blessed Paul did. Add to this, on the other hand, that we do not stand in awe of hell; therefore death is terrible. We are not sensible of the unsufferable nature of the punishment there; therefore, instead of sin, we fear death; since if the fear of the one held possession of our souls, the fear of the other would not be able to enter.

And this I will endeavor to make manifest, not from anything of a remote nature, but from what is at our own doors, and from the events which have happened among us in these days. For when the Emperor's letter came, ordering to be imposed the tribute which was thought to be so intolerable, all were in a tumult; all quarrelled with it, thought it a sore grievance, resented it, and when they met one another said, "Our life is not worth living; the city is undone; no one will be able to stand under this heavy burden"; and

they were distressed as if placed in the extremest danger. After this, when the rebellion was actually perpetrated, certain vile, yea, thoroughly vile persons, trampling under foot the laws, threw down the statues, and placed the utmost peril over the heads of all; and now that we are in fear of our very lives, through the indignation of the Emperor, the loss of money no longer stings us. But instead of such complaints, I hear from all a language of a different kind. "Let the Emperor take our substance; we will gladly be deprived of our fields and possessions, if any one will but ensure us a safe body, with nothing besides." As, therefore, before the fear of death pressed upon us, the loss of our wealth tormented us; and after these lawless outrages had been perpetrated, the fear of death, succeeding, expelled the grief for that loss; so if the fear of hell had held possession of our souls, the fear of death would not have been there. But even as with the body, when two kinds of pain seize upon us, that which is more powerful usually makes that which is inferior unnoticed, so also would it now happen, if the dread of future punishment remained in the soul; that would make all human fear imperceptible. So that if any one endeavors always to have the remembrance of hell, he will deride every kind of death; and this will not only deliver him from the present distress, but will even snatch him from

that flame. For he who is always afraid of hell, will never fall into the fire of hell; being made sober by this continual fear!

Permit me, that I now say to you at a fitting time, "Brethren, be not children in understanding; howbeit in malice be ye children." For this is a childish terror of ours, if we fear death but are not fearful of sin. Little children too have a fear of masks, but fear not the fire. On the contrary, if they are carried by accident near a lighted candle, they stretch out the hand without any concern towards the candle and the flame; yet a mask, which is so utterly contemptible, terrifies them; whereas they have no dread of fire, which is really a thing to be afraid of. Just so we too have a fear of death, which is a mask that might well be despised; but have no fear of sin, which is truly dreadful, and, even as fire, devours the conscience! So that if we once were to consider what death is, we should at no time be afraid of it. What then, I pray you, is death? Just what it is to put off a garment. For the body is about the soul as a garment; and after laying this aside for a short time by means of death, we shall resume it again with the more splendor. What is death at most? It is a journey for a season; a sleep longer than usual. So that if thou fearest death, thou shouldest also fear sleep. If thou art pained for those who are dying, grieve for those

too who are eating and drinking; for as this is natural, so is that! Let not natural things sadden thee; rather let things which arise from an evil choice make thee sorrowful. Sorrow not for the dying man; but sorrow for him who is living in sin!

Would you have me mention another reason on account of which we fear death? We do not live with strictness, nor keep a clear conscience; for if this were the case nothing would alarm us, neither death, nor famine, nor the loss of wealth, nor anything else that is. For he who lives virtuously cannot be injured by any of these things, or be deprived of his inward pleasure. For, being supported by favorable hopes, nothing will be able to throw him into dejection. What is there that any one can possibly effect, by which he can cause the noble-minded man to become sorrowful? Take away his riches? He has yet wealth that is in the heavens! Cast him out of his country? He will take refuge in that city which is above! Load him with fetters? He has still his conscience free, and is insensible to the external chain! Put his body to death? Yet he shall rise again! And as he who fights with a shadow, and beateth the air, will be unable to hit any one, so he who is at war with the just man is but striking at a shadow and wasting his own strength, without being able to inflict any injury

upon him. Grant me then to be sure of the kingdom of heaven; and, if thou wishest, slay me this day. I shall be thankful to thee for the killing; forasmuch as thou sendest me quickly to the possession of those good things! "This, however," says some one, "is what we especially lament, that, prevented as we are by the multitude of our sins, we shall not attain to that kingdom." Such being the case, then, have done lamenting death, and lament thy sins, in order that thou mayest be freed from them! Grief, indeed, hath had its existence, not that we should sorrow for the loss of wealth, nor for death, nor for anything else of that kind, but that we may employ it for the taking away of our sins. And I will make the truth of this evident by an example. Healing medicines have been made for those diseases only which they are able to remove; not for those which are in no respect assisted by them. That is to say (for I wish to make the matter still plainer), the medicine which is able to benefit a malady of the eyes only, and no other disease, one might justly say was made only for the sake of the eyes; not for the stomach, nor for the hands, nor any other member. Let us then transfer this observation to the subject of grief; and we shall find, that in none of those things which happen to us is it of any advantage, except to correct sin; whence it is apparent that it hath had

its existence only for the destruction of sin. Let us now take a passing view of each of those evils which befall us, and let us place sadness in conjunction with them, and we shall see what sort of advantage results from it.

Some one is mulcted in property: he becomes sad, but this does not make good his loss. Some one hath lost a son: he grieves, but he cannot raise the dead, nor benefit the departed. Some one hath been scourged, beaten, and contemptuously treated: he becomes sorrowful. This does not remove the ignominy. Some one falls into sickness, and a most grievous disease: he is dejected. This does not remove his disease, but only makes it the more grievous. Do you see that in none of these cases does sadness answer any purpose? Suppose that any one hath sinned, and is sad. He blots out the sin; he gets free from the transgression. How is this shown? By the declaration of the Lord; for, speaking of a certain one who had sinned, He said, "Because of his iniquity I made him sad for a while; and I saw that he was grieved, and he went on heavily; and I healed his ways." Therefore also Paul saith, "Godly sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation." Since then what I have said clearly shows that neither the loss of riches, nor ignominy, nor calumny, nor stripes, nor sickness, nor death, nor any other thing of that kind can possibly be

relieved by the interference of grief, but sin only can it blot out and do away, it is evident that for this reason only it hath its existence. Let us therefore no more grieve for the loss of wealth, but then alone, when we commit sin. For great in this case is the gain that comes with sadness. Art thou amerced? Be not sad, for thus thou wilt not be at all benefited. Hast thou sinned? Then be sad: for it is profitable; and consider the skill and wisdom of God. Sin hath brought forth for us these two things, grief and death. "For in the day thou eatest [He saith] thou shalt surely die"; and to the woman, "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children." And by both of these things He took away sin and provided that the mother should be destroyed by her offspring. For that death as well as grief takes away sin is evident, in the first place, from the case of the martyrs; and it is plain too from what Paul saith to those who had sinned, speaking on this wise: "For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep." Inasmuch, he observes, as ye have sinned, ye die, so that ye are freed from sin by death. Therefore he goes on to say: "For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world." And even as the worm is brought forth from the wood, and devours the wood; and a moth

consumes the wool, from whence it originates ; so grief and death were born of sin, and devour sin.

Let us not then fear death, but let us only fear sin, and grieve on account of this. And these things I speak, not anticipating anything fearful, God forbid! but wishing you when alarmed to be always thus affected, and to fulfil the law of Christ in very deed. For Christ saith, "he that taketh not his cross and followeth after Me, is not worthy of Me." This He said, not that we should always have death before our eyes. Even so as Paul, that is, died daily, and laughed at death, and despised the present life. For indeed thou art a soldier, and standest continually to arms ; but a soldier who is afraid of death will never perform a noble action. Thus then neither will a Christian man, if fearful of dangers, perform anything great or admirable ; nay, besides this, he will be apt to be easily vanquished. But not so is it with the man who is bold and lofty-minded. He remains impregnable and unconquerable. As then the Three Children, when they feared not the fire, escaped from the fire, so also we, if we fear not death, shall entirely escape from death. They feared not the fire (for it is no crime to be burned), but they feared sin, for it is a crime to commit impiety. Let us also imitate these and all such, and let us not be afraid of dangers, and then we shall altogether escape dangers. *Translated by C. Marriett.*

EPHREM SYRUS

Ephrem, the greatest theologian and writer of the Syrian Church, was born at Nisibis in Mesopotamia about 306 A.D. The legends that are preserved of his early life are for the most part untrustworthy. He seems, however, to have been of Syrian descent, and it is probable that his father was a heathen. Very early in his life he came under the influence of Saint Jacob, the Bishop of Nisibis, and took up the life of a hermit. He remained at Nisibis through the three sieges laid to it by Sapor, but removed to Edessa when the city in 363 fell into the hands of the Persians. About the year 370 he went to Cæsarea in Cappadocia to visit Basil, who was then the metropolitan of that see. At this time he was ordained deacon, and, although there is some reason to believe that he was advanced to the priesthood, it is certain that he never became bishop. He died soon after his ordination, which took place not long before 378.

Ephrem was a most voluminous writer, and incredible reports are preserved of his literary activities. His works consist of Commentaries on nearly all the books of the Old Testament, and on the Gospels in the form of a harmony, and on the Epistles of Saint Paul; a large number of homilies, doctrinal and controversial, hortatory and also expository; and hymns, by which he is best known and in which he displays real talent. The high regard in which his homilies are held in the Syrian Church is shown by the fact that, ever since a short time after his death, several have been regularly read as a part of the lessons in the services of the Church.

The principal edition of the works of Saint Ephrem is the Roman, in six volumes, edited by the Assemani and Benedictus. There have been many fragments recovered since the appearance of this edition. Translations have been made of a number of his works: *Select Works of Saint Ephraim,*

the Syrian, J. B. Morris, 1847 ; and in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* second series, xiii. Prefixed to the last-named is an excellent dissertation on the life and works of Saint Ephrem.

THE PEARL, OR, SEVEN RHYTHMS ON THE FAITH

Ephrem Syrus.

It may be doubted whether the following composition was ever actually delivered as an oration, either in whole or in part. But the style is one peculiar to the period, and the work is interesting as a type of a style of writing essentially oratorical and poetical as well. It has therefore been included in this volume less for its intrinsic merits than for its value as an example of dissertation which in the fourth century was considered the climax of oratorical composition.

RHYTHM THE FIRST

ON a certain day I took up a pearl, my brethren, and in it I perceived mysteries pertaining to the Kingdom, symbols and types of the Majesty on high; it became a fountain, and from it I drank the mysteries of the Son. I placed it on the palm of my hand, that I might examine it; I endeavored to look at it on one side, and it showed faces on all sides. Thus I discovered that the Son is incomprehensible, since He is all Light. In its splendor I beheld the splendor of Him who cannot be clouded, and in its purity I perceived a great mystery, even the body of our Lord, which

is undefiled; in its indivisibility I saw the Truth, which is indivisible. I saw there its pure conception,— the Church, and the Son within her. The cloud was the similitude of her who bare Him, and her type was heaven, since from her gleamed His glorious brilliancy. I saw therein His trophies, and His conquests, and His crowns. I saw therein His helpful and abundant grace, and what He hides or reveals.

This was to me greater than the ark, for it amazed me; I saw therein folds without shadow, because it was a daughter of light, types vocal without tongues, the speaking of mysteries without lips, a silent harp that soundlessly gave forth melodies. The trumpet falters, and the thunder mutters: therefore be not daring; leave those things which are hidden, turn to those which are revealed. Thou hast seen another shower in the clear sky; as for the clefts of thine ears, they are filled with interpretations, as from the clouds. And as that manna which, instead of grateful meats, alone satisfied the people with its sweetness, so does this pearl satisfy me instead of books, and the reading and the expositions thereof. And when I asked if there were other mysteries to be revealed, it had no mouth to make me hear, neither any ears which might hear me. O thou senseless thing, whence I have gained new senses!

It spake unto me, and said: "I am the daughter

of the sea, the illimitable sea! And from that sea, whence I came, I bring in my bosom a mighty treasure of mysteries. Search the sea, but search not out the Lord of the sea! I have seen the divers who sought me so confounded that from the midst of the sea they returned to the dry ground; for a little while they could not sustain it. Who would dare linger in his search into the depths of the Godhead? The waves of the Son are filled with blessings, but also with misfortunes. Have you not seen how, in the waves of the sea, if a ship struggle against them they will break her to atoms, while if she yield to them, and will not rebel against them, she is preserved in safety? Even though they did not closely examine it, it was by the sea that the Egyptians were strangled, and the Hebrews, though they did not scrutinize it, were overthrown upon the dry land; and how shall you be preserved alive? and the men of Sodom were licked up by fire, and how shall you prevail? The fishes of the sea, and Leviathan also, were moved by these tumults. Have you then a heart of stone that you read these things and fall into these errors? Oh, terrible thought, that justice also should be so long silent!

"Searching is mingled with thanksgiving, and which of the twain will prevail? the incense of praise rises from the tongue with the smoke of dispute, and unto which shall we hearken?

Prayer and questioning issue from one mouth, and unto which shall we listen? For three days was Jonah my neighbor in the sea; the living things therein were frightened and said, 'Who shall flee from God?' Jonah fled, and you are determined in your scrutiny of Him."

RHYTHM THE SECOND

Unto what art thou like? Let thy silence speak unto him who heareth thee; speak to us with silent lips; for unto him who hears the stammerings of thy silence thy symbol utters its speechless cry concerning our Redeemer. Thy mother is a virgin of the sea, though he wedded her not; she fell upon his bosom, though he recognized her not; she conceived thee of him, though he knew her not. Let thy symbolism reproach the Jewish women who have hung thee about them. Thou art the sole progeny of all forms which are like to the Word on high, whom the Most High alone begot. Graven things seem to be the symbol of created things above. This visible offspring of the invisible womb is a type of great things. Without seed was thy fair conception, without intercourse was thy pure generation, without brethren was thy birth. Our Lord had brethren; yet they were not brethren, since He was an Only-Begotten. O solitary one, thou exact type of the Only-Begotten! there is a type of thee in the crown of

kings, wherein thou hast brothers and sisters. Precious gems are thy brethren, beryls and unions are thy companions; may gold be thy kinsman, may there be unto the King of kings a crown from thy well beloved ones! When thou camest up from the sea, that living tomb, thou didst cry, Let me have a goodly assemblage of brethren, relatives, and kinsmen. As the wheat in the stem, so art thou in the crown with princes; and it is a just restoration to thee, as of a pledge, that from the depths thou shouldst be exalted to a noble eminence. The stem bears wheat in the field; the head of the king in his chariot bears thee about. O daughter of the ocean, who hast left the sea wherein thou wast born and hast come up to the dry land, thou art beloved therein; men have admired thee and seized thee and adorned themselves with thee, as with that Offspring whom the Gentiles loved and with whom they crowned themselves.

It is by the mystery of truth that Leviathan is trodden down by men; the divers put him off, and put on Christ. In the sacrament of oil the Apostles stole thee away, and rose. Hard as it was, they snatched their souls from his maw. Thy nature is like a quiet lamb in its sweetness, which if one is to lay hold of he must lift in crucial form by its ears, as once on Golgotha. He showered abundantly all His gleams on those who looked upon Him.

Symbolled in thy beauty is that of the Son, who clad Himself with suffering when the nails pierced Him. The awl pierced thee when they handled thee roughly, as they handled His hands ; and because He suffered, therefore He reigned, even as thy beauty was increased by thy sufferings. And though they showed thee no pity, neither loved thee, yet, suffer as thou must, thou hast come to reign. Peter showed pity to the rock ; whoever smites it is thereby himself overcome ; it is through its suffering that its beauty has glorified things in heaven and on earth.

RHYTHM THE THIRD

Thou dost not hide thyself in thy nakedness, O pearl ! The merchant is drunken with the love of thee, for he strippeth off his garments — yet not to cover thee, for thy light is thy raiment, thy lustre is thy garment, O thou naked one ! Thou art like Eve, who was clothed with nakedness. Cursed be he that deceived her, and stripped her, and abandoned her ! The serpent cannot strip off thy glory. In the mysteries which thou typifiest, women are clothed with light in Eden.

Very lustrous are the pearls of Ethiopia, as it is written : Who gave thee to Ethiopia of the blacks. He that gave light to the Gentiles, His lustrous beams reached both to the Ethiopians and to the Indians. The eunuch of Ethiopia from his chariot

saw Philip; the Lamb of Light met the negro coming from the bath. While he was reading the Ethiopian was baptized and shone with joy, and journeyed on! He made disciples, and taught, and from black men he made white men. And the dark Ethiopian women became pearls for the Son; He offered them to the Father, a gleaming crown from the Ethiopians.

The Queen of Sheba was a sheep which had come unto the place of wolves; the lamp of truth was given her by Solomon, who also married her when he fell away. She was enlightened, and departed; but the wolves remained dark, as was their way. The bright spark which went with that blessed Queen retained its lustre amid the darkness, until the new day-dawn came. The bright spark met this lustre and illumined the place.

In the sea are fishes of great size, yet with all their greatness they are very small; but by thy smallness the crown is made great, even as the Son by whose littleness Adam was made great. For the head is meant thy crown, for the eye thy beauty, for the ear thy fairness. Arise from the sea, thou neighbor to the dry land, and come and sojourn by the hearing. Let the ear love the word of life as it loveth thee! In the ear is the word; without it is the pearl. Let it, warned by thee, through thee obtain wisdom, and be warned by

the word of truth. Be thou its mirror: it shall see the beauty of the word in thine own beauty; it shall learn in thee how precious is the word on high. The ear is the leaf, the flesh is the tree, and thou art a fruit of light in the midst of it, and thou art a type pointing to the womb that brings forth Light. He used thee as a parable of the Kingdom, O pearl! as He used the virgins who entered into it, five in number, with the light supplied to their lamps. Those bright ones are like to thee, thou that art clad in light!

Who would give a pearl to the daughter of the poor? for when it hangs upon her it does not become her. Obtain without price that faith which entirely becomes the limbs of men. For no gold would a lady exchange her pearl: it were a great disgrace if thou shouldst for nothing throw thy pearl into the mire. In the pearl of time let us behold the pearl of eternity; for it is in the purse, or in the signet, or in the treasury. Within the gate are other gates, with their locks and keys. The High One has sealed up thy pearl, as taking account of all.

RHYTHM THE FOURTH

The thief gained the faith which gained him and raised him and placed him in Paradise. In the Cross he saw a tree of life; that was the fruit, he was the eater in Adam's stead. The fool who

goes astray prods the faith, as it were an eye, by all manner of questions. The probing of a finger blinds the eye; and much more does such probing blind the faith. For even the diver does not probe his pearl. All merchants rejoice in it without questioning whence it came; even the king who is crowned therewith does not dissect it.

Because Balaam was foolish, a foolish beast, the ass, spoke to him, because he despised God, who spoke to him. Thee also let the pearl, in the ass's stead, reprove. By a stone He set at naught the people that had a heart of stone, for lo! a stone heareth words. Witness its work which has reproved them; and you, ye deaf ones, let the pearl to-day reprove. With the swallow and the crow did He put men to shame; with the ox, yea, with the ass, did He put them to shame; let the pearl now reprove, ye birds and things on earth and below.

Not as the moon does thy light increase or wane; it is of the sun, whose light is greater than all, that a type is shadowed in thy little compass. O type of the Son, one spark of whom is greater than the sun! the pearl itself is full, for its light is full; neither is there any artist who can steal from it, for its wall is its own beauty, yea, this is its guard also. It lacketh naught, since it is entirely perfect; and if a man would break thee, to take a part from thee, thou art like the faith in which the

heretics perish, seeing that they have broken it into pieces and ruined it ; for is it any better than ruin to have the faith scrutinized ? The faith is an entire nature, which may not be disorganized. The spoiler worketh himself mischief thereby ; the heretic thereby brings ruin upon himself. He that chaseth the light from his eyes blindeth himself. Fire and air are divided when they are intersected. Light alone of all creatures, like its Creator, is not divided ; it is not barren, for it also begets without losing thereby.

And if a man think that thou wast framed by art, he errs greatly : thy nature proclaims that thou, like all stones, wast not made by art ; and so thou art a type of the Generation which was framed by no making. Thy birth fleeth from a comparison with that of the Son. For thine own generation is in the midst of the deep, while that of the Son of thy Creator is from the greatest height ; He is not like thee, for He is like His Father. And, as they say, two wombs bare thee also. Thou camest down from above a fluid nature ; thou camest up from the sea a solid body. By thy second birth thou didst show thy loveliness to the children of men. When thou wast embodied, hands fixed thee into thy receptacle ; for thou art in the crown as upon a cross, and in a coronet as in a victory ; thou art upon the ears, as if to fill up what was lacking ; thou extendest over all.

RHYTHM THE FIFTH

O gift that camest up without price with the diver! Thou laidest hold upon this visible light, which without price rises for the children of men: a parable of the hidden One that without price gives the hidden day-spring. And the painter also paints a likeness of thee with colors. Yet by thee is faith painted in types and emblems as colors; and by thee and thy colors, in place of image, is thy Creator painted. O thou frankincense without odor, who breathest types from out thee, thou art not to be eaten, yet thou givest a sweet smell unto those who hear thee; thou art not to be drunk, yet by thy story thou art made a fountain of symbols unto the ears!

Thou art great in thy littleness, O pearl! Small is thy measure, and little thy compass and thy weight, but great is thy glory; there is none like to that crown alone in which thou art placed. Who hath not perceived how great is thy littleness! if one should despise thee and throw thee away, he would blame himself for his folly, for when he saw thee in a king's crown he would desire thee.

Naked men dived and drew thee forth, O pearl! It was not a king who gave thee to men, but those naked ones who were types of the poor and the fishers and the Galileans; for clothed bodies could not reach thee; they came who were naked as

babes; they buried their bodies and came down to thee, and thou didst greatly desire them and didst aid them who thus loved thee. Glad tidings did they give for thee; the poor opened their mouths before their bosoms, and produced and showed the new riches among the merchants; they put thee upon the wrists of men as a life-giving medicine.

The naked men in a type saw thy rising again by the seashore; and by the side of the lake the Apostles, truly naked, saw the rising again of the Son of thy Creator. By thee, and by the Lord, the sea and the lake were adorned. The diver arose from the sea and put on his garments; and from the lake also Simon Peter came swimming, and put on his garment; each was clad, as with clothes, with love for both of you.

Since I have wandered in thee, O pearl, I will collect my mind, and, having contemplated thee, would become like thee, in that thou art all gathered up into thyself; and as thou art always one, let me become one by thee! I have gathered together pearls that I might make a crown for the Son, instead of stains which are in my members. Receive my offering, not because of any shortcoming in Thee; it is because of my own shortcoming that I have offered it unto Thee. Whiten my stains. This crown is all spiritual pearls, which are set in love instead of gold, and in faith instead

of ouches ; and, instead of hands, let praise offer it up to the Most High.

RHYTHM THE SIXTH

Would that the memory of the Fathers, who were very simple as being very wise, and reverend as being believing, would exhale from the tombs ! They searched without criticising, and found the right path. He gave the law ; the mountains melted away ; fools broke through it. By unclean ravens He fed Elijah at the desert stream, and from the skeleton gave honey unto Samson ; they judged not, nor inquired whether it was unclean or clean.

And when He undid the sabbaths, the feeble Gentiles were clad with health. Samson took the daughter of the aliens, and there was no disputing among the righteous ; the prophet took a harlot, and the just held their peace. He blamed the righteous, and He held up to view their delinquencies ; He pitied sinners, and restored them without cost, and made low the mountains of their sins ; He proved that God is not to be arraigned by men, and that, as Lord of Truth, His servants were His shadow ; and whatsoever way looked His will, they directed also their own wills ; and, because Light was in Him, their shadows were illumined.

How strangely are all the heretics perplexed by

simple things! For when He plainly foretold this New Testament by that of the prophets, those pitiable men arose as though from sleep, and shouted, and made a tumult. And as for the way wherein the righteous held straight on, and in which by their truths they had gone forth, that way these have destroyed, because they were besotted; they left it and went out of it; because they criticised, and evil searching and an evil babbling led them astray. They saw the ray, and they made it darkness, that they might grope therein; they saw the jewel, even the faith, and while they pried into it it fell and was lost. Of the pearl they made a stone, that they might stumble upon it.

O Gift, which fools have made a poison! the people wished to separate Thy beauteous root from Thy fountain, though they did not separate it; teachings also estranged Thy beauty from the stock thereof. By Thee did they who wished to estrange Thee themselves become estranged. By Thee were cut off and scattered abroad the tribes out of Zion, and also the teachings of the seceders. Bring Thyself within the compass of our littleness, O thou Gift of ours! For if love cannot find Thee out on all sides, it cannot be still and at rest. Make Thyself small, Thou that art too great for all, that comest unto all!

By this would be reproved those who would

wrangle with our pearl because, instead of love, strife hath come in and dared to essay to unveil Thy beauty. It was not graven, for it is a prodigy which cannot be interpreted. Thou didst show Thy beauty among those who are abject, to show whereunto Thou art like, Thou pearl that art all faces! The beholders were amazed and perplexed by Thee. The separatists separated Thee in twain, and were separated in twain by Thee, Thou that art of one consistency throughout. They saw not Thy beauty, because there was not in them the eye of truth. For the veil of prophecy, full as it was of the mysteries of Thy lustrous faces, was a covering to them; they thought that Thou wast different, O Thou mirror of ours, and therefore the blind sectarians defiled Thy fair beauty.

Since they have too much extolled Thee, or have too much lowered Thee, bring them to the even level. Come down, descend a little from that height of infidelity and heathendom, and arise from the depth of Judaism, though Thou art in the heavens. Let our Lord be set between God and men! Let the prophets be as His heralds! Let the Just One rejoice in being His Father; it is that Word which conquered both Jews and heathens!

Come, Thou Gift of Holy Church, stay, rest in the midst of her! The circumcised have troubled

Thee in that they are vain babblers, and so have the doctrines in that they are contentious. Blessed be He that gave Thee a goodly company to bear Thee about! In the covenant of Moses is Thy lustre foreshadowed; in the new covenant Thou dartest it forth; Thy light shineth from those first even unto those last. Blessed be He that gave us Thy lustre and Thy brilliant rays!

RHYTHM THE SEVENTH

As in a race I saw the disputers, the children of strife, trying to taste fire, to see the air, to handle the light; they were troubled by the gleaming, they strove to make divisions. They sought to touch the Son, who is too subtle for the mind; they thought to explore with their questions the Holy Ghost, who cannot be explored; they explained and disputed about the Father, who has never been searched out. The sound form of our faith is from Abraham, and our repentance is from Nineveh and the house of Rahab, and ours are the expectations of the prophets, ours those of the Apostles.

Envy is from Satan; the evil usage of the foul calf is from the Egyptians. The hateful sight of the abominable image of four faces is from the Egyptians. Accursed disputation, that hidden moth, is from the Greeks. The bitter enemy read and saw orthodox teachings, and subverted them;

he saw hateful things, and sowed them; and he saw hope, and overthrew it and cut it off. The disputation that he planted hath yielded a fruit bitter to the tooth.

Satan saw that the truth strangled him, and united himself to the tares, secreted his frauds, and spread his snares for the faith, and cast upon priests the darts of the love of rank. They contested for the throne, to see which should first win it. There was he who meditated in secret and kept it close; there was he who openly combated for it; there was he who crept up to it with a bribe; and there was he who by fraud worked wisely to win it. The paths differed, the scope was one; and they were alike. He who was young, and could not even think of it, because his time had not come, and he that was hoary and shaped dreams for time beyond, were all persuaded and subdued by the craft of the wicked one. Old men, youths, and even striplings, aim at winning rank!

Satan put aside his former books, and took others; the moth and the worm devoured and ate and left and deserted the people who had grown old; the moth came into the garment of the new peoples; he saw the crucifiers rejected and cast forth as strangers; he made priers of those of the household, and, instead of worshippers, they became disputants. The moth gendered from that

garment, and wound it up and laid it aside. The worm gendered in the storehouse of wheat, and sat and looked on; and lo! the pure wheat was mildewed, and the garments of glory were devoured. He made a mockery of us, and we of ourselves, because we were besotted. He sowed tares, and the bramble shot up in the pure vineyard. He infected the flock, and the leprosy broke out, and the sheep became his hired servants. He began in the people, and came unto the Gentiles, that he might finish.

Instead of the reed which the former people made the Son hold, others have dared with their reed to write in their tracts that He is only a son of man. Reed for reed does the wicked one exchange against our Redeemer; and instead of the coat of many colors wherewith they clothed Him, he hath craftily dyed appellations; he clothed Him with a diversity of names, either that of a creature or a thing made, when He was the Maker; and as he plaited for Him by silent men speechless thorns, so has he now plaited by the voice, as rhythms, vociferous thorns from the mind, and concealed the spikes amid melodies, so that they might not be perceived.

Satan saw that he was detected in his former frauds, that there was discovered the spitting, the vinegar and thorns, the nails and wood, the garments and reed, the spear which smote Him, and

that they were hated and openly known; he changed his frauds: instead of the blow with the hand by which our Lord was overcome, he brought in distractions; instead of spitting, came criticism; instead of garments, secret divisions; and instead of the reed, came strife to smite us on the face. Haughtiness called for rage, its sister, and there answered and came envy, and wrath, and pride, and fraud. They have taken counsel against our Redeemer, as on that day when they took counsel at His Passion. And instead of the Cross, there has come strife; instead of the nails, questionings; and instead of hell, apostasy; the copy of both Satan would again renew. Instead of the sponge which was cankered with vinegar and wormwood, he gave prying, the whole of which is cankered with death. Our Lord put away from Him the gall which they gave Him; the subtle questioning which the rebellious one has given is sweet to fools.

And as at that time there were judges against them, the judges are, as it were, against us, and instead of a handwriting are their commands. Priests, who consecrate crowns, set snares for kings; instead of the priesthood praying for royalty that wars may cease, they teach subversive wars which set kings to combating with those round about. O Lord, make the priests and the kings peaceful, that in one Church priests may

pray for their kings, and kings spare those about them; and may the peace which is within Thee become ours, O Lord, Thou that art within and without all things!

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

TERTULLIAN

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus was born about the year 170 A.D., and was at the height of his fame and activity from 194 to 216. Little is known of his youth, but he had come to man's estate and become proficient as a practising lawyer before he was converted to the Christian faith. He soon became a presbyter at Carthage, North Africa, and employed his talents in defence of the Church and to the confusion of the gnostic heretics. In later years he fell away from the Catholic faith, possibly, as Jerome thinks, on account of personal difficulties with the clergy at Rome, where he seems to have lived some time. He joined the sect of Montanists. He is, accordingly, not included among the Church Fathers, in the strict sense of the word, though his influence has been far greater than that of many who have enjoyed the highest reputation for orthodoxy. He was able by his early training to emphasize the corporate character of the Church and to interpret its teaching to the Roman mind. In this he follows St. Irenæus, and was himself followed by his greatest pupil, St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. Tertullian died towards the year 245, without returning to the bosom of the Church.

Tertullian has left no formal oration or other speech, and it might seem, therefore, that he should not be counted among the orators of the world. His style, however, though at times confused, is so clearly based upon the principles of oral discourse, in which he was unquestionably proficient, that his various treatises render it possible to gain a tolerably clear conception of his talent as an orator. He excelled in invective. His scorn is withering. Vehemence and passion are apparent in every line. His powerful imagination and enthusiastic temperament, however, not infrequently betrayed him into an over-florid and picturesque rather than clear style.

The works of Tertullian may be found in every patrologia

(*e.g.*, Migne, *Patrologia* Series Latina, i. and ii.). Oehler has published an excellent edition, Leipsic, 1851–53, three vols. All his works have been translated into the various modern languages and are readily accessible. In English the best translations are by C. Dodson, Library of the Fathers, Oxford, 1842–54, and Holmes and Thelwall, in Ante-Nicene Library, Edinburgh, 1868–70, reprinted in America by the Christian Literature Company, Buffalo, 1885. The best short account of Tertullian is the excellent article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* from the pen of Adolf Harnack, to which is added a copious bibliography. In addition to the Church Histories of Neander, Robertson, Alzog, Schaff, and Hase, all easily accessible, the work by Kaye, *Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, Illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian*, and Neander's *Anti-gnosticus, or the Spirit of Tertullian*, in Bohn's Library, are especially to be recommended.

THE PRESCRIPTION AGAINST HERETICS

[Selection.] *Tertullian.*

The author here applies the legal principle that a right or title may be acquired by continued use and enjoyment. This right, in the matter of orthodoxy, is to use the sacred writings in support of Church teaching and to teach with authority the Apostolic faith. That this right had been enjoyed by the Church teachers from the very beginning, and not by the heretics, could be shown by the lists of bishops in the various Churches founded by the Apostles. These lists were unbroken from the time of the Apostles. It should be noted that the position here stated, although nearly related to the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, is not identical with it. That doctrine has reference to the transmission of sacerdotal power by a quasi-sacramental act, and does not distinctly appear in Tertullian.

The work belongs to the pre-Montanist period of Tertullian's life.

CHRIST Jesus our Lord, (may He suffer me for the moment so to speak,) whosoever He be, of whatsoever God the Son, of whatsoever substance both Man and God, of whatsoever faith the Teacher, of whatsoever reward the Promiser, did Himself, while He lived in the world, declare what He was, what He had been, of what will of His Father He was the Minister, what He determined should be done by man ; either openly to the people, or privately to His disciples, out of whom He had chosen to be attached to His

person twelve principal ones, the destined teachers of the nations. Wherefore, one of them being struck off, He, when departing to the Father after His resurrection, commanded the other eleven to "go and teach all nations," who were to be "baptized into the Father, and into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost." Immediately, therefore, the Apostles (whom this title intendeth to denote as "sent,") having chosen by lot a twelfth, Matthias, in the room of Judas, on the authority of a prophecy, which is in a Psalm of David, having obtained the promised power of the Holy Spirit for the working of miracles and for utterance, first having through Judæa borne witness to the faith in Jesus Christ and established Churches, next went forth into the world and preached the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations, and forthwith founded Churches in every city, from whence the other Churches thenceforward borrowed the tradition of the faith and the seeds of doctrine, and are daily borrowing them, that they may become Churches. And for this cause they are themselves also accounted Apostolical, as being the offspring of Apostolical Churches. The whole kind must needs be classed under their original. Wherefore these Churches, so many and so great, are but that one primitive Church from the Apostles, whence they all spring. Thus all are the primitive, and all Apostolical, while all

are one. The communication of peace, the title of brotherhood, and the token of hospitality prove this unity, which rights no other principle directeth than the unity of the tradition of the same mystery.

On this principle, therefore, we shape our rule: that, if the Lord Jesus Christ sent the Apostles to preach, no others ought to be received as preachers than those whom Christ appointed; "for no man knoweth the Father save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son hath revealed Him." Neither doth the Son seem to have revealed Him to any other than to the Apostles, whom He sent to preach, to wit, that which He revealed unto them. Now what they did preach, that is, what Christ did reveal unto them, I will here also rule, must be proved in no other way than by those same Churches which the Apostles themselves founded; themselves, I say, by preaching to them, as well *viva voce* (as men say), as afterwards by Epistles. If these things be so, it becometh forthwith manifest that all doctrine which agreeth with these Apostolic Churches, the wombs and originals of the faith, must be accounted true, as without doubt containing that which the Churches have received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God; and that all other doctrine must be judged at once to be false which savoreth things contrary to the truth of the

Churches, and of the Apostles, and of Christ, and of God. It remaineth, therefore, that we show whether this our doctrine, the rule of which we have above declared, be derived from the tradition of the Apostles, and, from this very fact, whether the other doctrines come of falsehood. We have communion with the Apostolic Churches, because we have no doctrine differing from them. This is evidence of truth.

But since the proof of this is so short that, if it be brought forward at once, there would be no further question to be treated of, let us for a while, as though it were not brought forward by us, give place to the other party, if they think that they can do anything toward invalidating this rule. They are wont to say that "the Apostles did not know all things," being moved by the same madness whereby they turn about again and say that "the Apostles did indeed know all things, but did not deliver all things to all": in either case subjecting Christ to reproach, in that He sent Apostles with either too little instruction or too little simplicity. Who then of sound mind can believe that they were ignorant of anything whom the Lord appointed as masters, keeping them undivided in attendance, in discipleship, in companionship; to whom "when they were alone," He "expounded all things" that were dark, saying that "to them it was given to know the mysteries," which the

people were not permitted to understand? Was anything hidden from Peter, who was called the "rock" whereon the Church should be built, who obtained "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" and the power of loosing and binding in heaven and on earth? Was anything moreover hidden from John, the most beloved of the Lord, "who leaned upon His breast," to whom alone the Lord pointed out beforehand Judas that should betray Him, and whom He commended unto Mary as a son in His own stead? Of what would He have those be ignorant to whom He even manifested His glory, and Moses and Elias, and moreover the voice of the Father from heaven, not as casting a reproach upon the rest, but "because in three witnesses shall every word be established"? Therefore they also were ignorant, to whom even after His resurrection He deigned to "expound all the Scriptures" as they journeyed! Certainly He had once said, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now": yet by adding, "when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth," He showeth that they were ignorant of nothing who He had promised should attain unto "all truth" through the "Spirit of Truth": and verily He fulfilled the promise, seeing that the Acts of the Apostles prove the descent of the Holy Spirit: the which Scripture they who receive not can neither be of the Holy Spirit, seeing that they

cannot acknowledge that the Holy Spirit hath yet been sent to the disciples, nor can they even maintain themselves to be the Church, seeing that they have not wherewithal to prove when and with what beginnings this body was established. For they are well content to have no proofs of those things which they do maintain, lest there be let in at the same time exposures of those things which they speak falsely.

. . . . . .

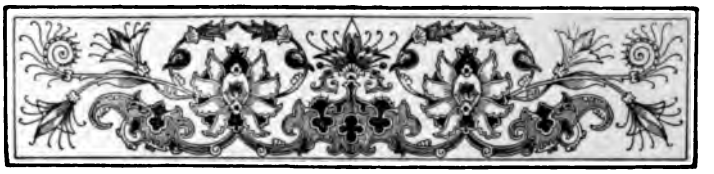
Come now, thou that wilt exercise thy curiosity to better purpose in the business of thy salvation, go through the Apostolic Churches, in which the very seats of the Apostles, at this very day, preside over their own places; in which their own authentic writings are read, speaking with the voice of each, and making the face of each present to the eye. Is Achaia near to thee? thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi, thou hast the Thessalonians. If thou canst travel into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. But if thou art nearer to Italy, thou hast Rome, where we also have an authority close at hand. What a happy Church is that on which the Apostles poured out all their doctrine, with their blood! where Peter had a like passion with the Lord; where Paul hath for his crown the same death with John; where the Apostle John was plunged into boiling oil, and suffered nothing, and was

afterwards banished to an island. Let us see what she hath learned, what taught, what fellowship she hath had with the Churches of Africa likewise. She acknowledgeth one God the Lord, the Creator of the universe, and Christ Jesus the Son of God the Creator, born of the Virgin Mary, and the resurrection of the flesh. She joineth the Law and the Prophets with the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, and thence drinketh in her faith. That faith she sealeth with water, clotheth with the Holy Spirit, feedeth with the Eucharist, exhorteth to martyrdom, and so receiveth no one in opposition to this teaching. This is that teaching which I do not now say foretold that heresies should come, but from which heresies proceeded forth. But these were not of her, from the time when they began to be against her. Even from the seed of the cultivated, rich, necessary olive, the rough wild-olive ariseth : even from the kernel of the most delightful and most sweet fig springeth the empty and useless wild-fig. So also heresies are of our fruit, not of our kind, of the seed of truth, but, through falsehood, wild.

If these things be so, so that the truth be adjudged to belong to us, " as many as walk according to this rule," which the Churches have handed down from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God, the reasonableness of our proposition is manifest, which determineth that

heretics are not to be allowed to enter upon an appeal to the Scriptures, whom we prove, without the Scriptures, to have no concern with the Scriptures. For if they be heretics, they cannot be Christians, in that they have not from Christ that, by following which, according to their own choosing, they admit the name of heretics. Therefore, not being Christians, they can have no right to Christian writings. To such it may be justly said, who are ye? when and whence came ye? not being mine, what do ye in that which is mine? In brief, by what right dost thou, Marcion, cut down my wood? by what license dost thou, Valentinus, turn the course of my waters? by what power dost thou, Apelles, remove my landmarks? This is my possession. Why do ye, the rest, sow and feed here at your own pleasure? It is my possession; I have held it of old; I held it first; I have a sure title down from the first owners themselves, whose the estate was. I am the heir of the Apostles. As they provided by their own testament, as they committed it in trust, as they have adjured, so I hold it. You, assuredly, they have ever disinherited and renounced, as aliens, as enemies. But why are heretics aliens and enemies to the Apostles, if not from the difference of doctrine, which each at his own pleasure hath either brought forward or received in contradiction to the Apostles?

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.



THE SHOWS

[Selection.] *Tertullian.*

The following passage is universally recognized as a favorable example of the author's imaginative and glowing style. It was probably written at Carthage about 197 A.D., before Tertullian became a Montanist.

BUT what sort of show is that near at hand? the Coming of the Lord, now confessed, now glorious, now triumphant. What is that joy of the angels? what the glory of the rising of saints? what the kingdom of the righteous which followeth? what the City of the New Jerusalem? And yet there remain other shows: that last and eternal Day of Judgment, the unlooked-for, the scorned of the nations, when all the ancient things of the world, and all that are rising into life, shall be consumed in one fire! What shall then be the expense of the show? whereat shall I wonder? whereat laugh? whereat rejoice? whereat exult? Behold so many kings, who were declared to be admitted into heaven, with Jupiter himself and all that testify of him, groaning together in the lowest darkness; those rulers, too, the persecutors of

the name of the Lord, melting amid insulting fires more raging than those wherewith themselves raged against the Christians; those wise philosophers, moreover, reddening before their own disciples, now burning together with them, whom they persuaded that there was nothing which appertained to God, before whom they affirmed that there were either no souls, or that they should not return again to their former bodies; poets, too, trembling before the judgment-seat, not of Rhadamanthus, not of Minos, but of the unlooked-for Christ. Then will the tragic actors be the more to be heard, because more loud in their cries amidst real affliction of their own; then the players to be recognized, more dissolute by far when dissolved by fire; then the charioteer to be gazed on, all red upon his fiery wheel; then the wrestlers to be viewed tossing about, not in the theatre, but in the fire — unless perchance I may even then not desire to see them, as wishing rather to fix my gaze, never to be satisfied, on those who have "furiously raged against the Lord." This, I shall say, is He, "the son of the carpenter" or the harlot, the destroyer of the Sabbath, the "Samaritan," and "who had a devil." This is He whom ye bought of Judas: this is He who was smitten with a reed and with buffetings, dishonored with spittings, drugged with gall and vinegar. This is He whom the disciples stole secretly away, that

it might be said that He had risen again, or whom the gardener removed, lest his lettuces should be injured by the crowds of visitors. Such shows as these, such triumphs as these, what prætor, or consul, or quæstor, or priest, shall of his own bounty bestow upon thee? and yet we have them even now in some sort present to us, through faith, in the imagination of the Spirit. But what are those things which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man"? Greater joys, methinks, than the circus, and both the theatres, and any race-course.

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

ST. AUGUSTINE

Aurelius Augustinus (St. Augustine) was born at Tagaste in Numidia, November 13, 354 A.D. His father, Patricius, was a pagan of respectable position ; his mother, St. Monica, was one of the noblest Christian women of antiquity. He was early taught the Christian faith by his mother, but in his youth gave himself up to debauchery. Although his knowledge of Greek was always limited, his general education was good. In the course of his studies to fit himself for the career of a rhetorician, he visited the best schools and became acquainted with all the principal Latin writers. Augustine's conversion to Christianity, after some years spent among the Manichæans, took place under Ambrose of Milan, in 386. At this turn in his affairs, he gave up his profession, and, not long after his baptism (Easter, 387), embraced the monastic life. He was ordained priest in 391 at Hippo Regius, an insignificant city of North Africa. In 395 he was consecrated Coadjutor Bishop of Hippo, and soon became sole Bishop. By his genius Hippo was made the intellectual centre of the Western Church. He died August 28, 430, at Hippo. which was at that time besieged by the Vandals.

St. Augustine's sermons are not constructed on the elaborate plan popular in the East. They are not set speeches ; rather, they are thoughtful, deeply earnest expoundings of the meaning of Scripture as it had revealed itself in the experience of the preacher. There is no strict adherence to the text and little attempt at a grammatical and philological exegesis. These sermons are aimed to impress the fundamental truths and to open up the heart to the influences of grace. Spiritual insight is their highest quality.

Most ample materials are accessible for the biography of this great man. He has himself given an account of his youth and conversion in his *Confessions* (written about 400), a

spiritual autobiography of unsurpassed power. His numerous letters and the many references in his controversial works to events with which he was connected supply the rest. St. Augustine enjoys a distinguished position in the history of philosophy, having made valuable contributions to psychology, the philosophy of history *(De Civitate Dei)*, and metaphysics.

The best edition of St. Augustine's complete works is the Benedictine, 8 vols. in 11 folio, Paris, 1679-1700, reprinted by Migne. The Vienna Academy has undertaken a new edition in its *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, of which a few volumes have appeared. A full analysis of the contents of each volume of the Benedictine Edition may be found in Dupin, *History of Ecclesiastical Writers of the Fifth Century*, London, 1698, pp. 125–207. There are translations of nearly all of St. Augustine's works in the Oxford Library of the Fathers; editions of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh; and the Christian Literature Company, New York.

The literature on St. Augustine is very extensive. Consult Church Histories, histories of dogma, and histories of philosophy. Limited but good bibliographies may be found in Herzog's *Real Encyclopädie*, in Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1890, iii., 54 *f.*, and in Dr. Schaff's Prolegomena to the American reprint of the Edinburgh and Oxford translations of St. Augustine's works. A few titles only may be given here. Reuter, *Augustinische Studien*, Gotha, 1887; Windelband, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Freiburg, 1892 (pp. 217–226), since translated; Bindemann, *Der heilige Augustinus*, 3 vols., 1842–1869; Nourisson, *La Philosophie de St. Augustin*, 2 vols., Paris, 1866; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* (see above); Gangauf, *Des heiligen Augustinus speculativ Lehre von Gott dem Dreieinigen*, Augsburg, 1865; Allen, *Continuity of Christian Thought*, Boston, 1885; Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy* (English translation), New York, 1872, vol. i.; Mozley, *The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*, London, 1855 (much more comprehensive than the title might imply); Cutts, *St. Augustine*, London, 1886.

SERMON ON THE REMISSION OF SINS

Augustine.

The following sermon was "delivered at the Table of St. Cyprian, in the presence of Count Boniface." An account of Count Boniface, the friend of St. Augustine, may be found in chapter xxxiii. of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. This sermon probably belongs to the closing years of St. Augustine's life, as Count Boniface was not in Africa until within a few years of St. Augustine's death. From the reference to the Table of St. Cyprian, it would appear that this sermon was delivered at Carthage.

"If thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him."—Luke xvii., 3.

THE Holy Gospel which we heard just now as it was being read has admonished touching the remission of sins. And on this subject must ye now be admonished by my discourse. For we are ministers of the word, not our own word, but the word of our God and Lord, whom no one serves without glory, whom no one despises without punishment. He then, the Lord our God, who, abiding with the Father, made us, and having been made for us, remade us, He, the Lord our God, Jesus Christ Himself, says to us what we have heard just now in the Gospel. "If," He saith, "thy brother shall sin against thee, rebuke him,

and if he shall repent, forgive him; and if he shall sin against thee seven times in a day, and shall come and say, I repent, forgive him." He would not have "seven times in a day" otherwise understood than "as often as may be," lest haply he sin eight times, and thou be unwilling to forgive. What then is "seven times"? Always, as often as he shall sin and repent. For this, "Seven times in a day will I praise Thee," is the same as in another Psalm, "His praise shall always be in my mouth." And there is the strongest reason why seven times should be put for that which is always; for the whole course of time revolves in a circle of seven coming and returning days.

Whosoever then thou art that hast thy thoughts on Christ, and desirest to receive what He hath promised, be not slow to do that which He hath enjoined. Now what hath He promised? "Eternal Life." And what hath He enjoined? That pardon be given to thy brother. As if He had said to thee, "Do thou, O man, give pardon to a man, that I, who am God, may come unto thee." But that I may pass over, or rather pass by for a while, those more exalted divine promises in which our Creator engages to make us equal with His angels, that we may with Him, and in Him, and by Him, live without end: not to speak of this just now, dost thou not wish to receive of thy God this very thing, which thou art com-

manded to give thy brother? This very thing, I say, which thou art commanded to give thy brother, dost thou not wish to receive from thy Lord? Tell me if thou wishest it not; and so give it not. What is this, but that thou shouldest forgive him that asks thee, if thou requirest to be forgiven? But if thou hast nothing to be forgiven thee, I dare to say, be unwilling to forgive. Though I ought not even to say this. Though thou hast nothing to be forgiven thee, forgive.

Thou art just on the point of saying to me, "But I am not God: I am a man, a sinner." God be thanked that thou dost confess thou hast sins. Forgive then, that they may be forgiven thee. Yet the Lord our God Himself exhorteth us to imitate Him. In the first place God Himself, Christ, exhorteth us, of whom the Apostle Peter said, "Christ hath suffered for us, leaving you an example that ye should follow His steps, who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth." He then verily had no sin, yet did He die for our sins, and shed His blood for the remission of sins. He took upon Him for our sakes what was not His due, that He might deliver us from what was due to us. Death was not due to Him, nor life to us. Why? Because we were sinners. Death was not due to Him, nor life to us; He received what was not due to Him, He gave what was not due to us. But since we are speaking of the

remission of sins, lest ye should think it too high a thing to imitate Christ, hear the Apostle saying, "Forgiving one another, even as God in Christ hath forgiven you." "Be ye therefore imitators of God." They are the Apostle's words, not mine. Is it indeed a proud thing to imitate God? Hear the Apostle: "Be ye imitators of God as dearly beloved children." Thou art called a child; if thou refuse to imitate Him, why seekest thou His inheritance?

This would I say even if thou hadst no sin which thou mightest desire to be forgiven thee. But as it is, whosoever thou art, thou art a man; though thou be righteous, thou art a man; be thou layman, or monk, or clerk, or bishop, or Apostle, thou art a man. Hear the Apostle's voice: "If we shall say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves." He, that famous John, and an evangelist, he whom the Lord Christ loved beyond all the rest, who lay on His breast, he says, "If we shall say." He did not say, "If ye shall say that ye have no sin," but, "If we shall say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." He joined himself in the guilt, that he might be joined in the pardon also. "If we shall say." Consider who it is who says, "If we shall say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. But if we shall confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive

us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity." How does He cleanse? By forgiving, not as though He found nothing to punish, but as finding something to forgive. So then, brethren, as we have sins, let us forgive them that ask us. Let us not retain enmities in our heart against another. For the retaining of enmities more than anything corrupts these hearts of ours.

I would then that thou shouldest forgive, seeing that I find thee asking forgiveness. Thou art asked to forgive, thou wilt ask to be forgiven; for, lo, the time of prayer will come; I have thee fast in the words thou wilt have to speak. Thou wilt say, "Our Father, which art in heaven." For thou wilt not be in the number of children, if thou dost not say, "Our Father." So then thou wilt say, "Our Father, which art in heaven." Follow on: "Hallowed be Thy name." Say on: "Thy kingdom come." Follow still on: "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth." See what thou addest next: "Give us this day our daily bread." Where are thy riches? So thou art a beggar. Nevertheless, in the meanwhile (it is the point I am speaking of), say what is next after "Give us this day our daily bread." Say what follows this: "Forgive us our debts." Now thou hast come to my words, "Forgive us our debts." By what right? by what covenant? on what condition? on what expressed stipulation? "As we also

forgive our debtors." It is but a small thing that thou dost not forgive; yea, thou dost more, thou liest unto God. The condition is laid down, the law fixed. "Forgive as I forgive." Therefore He does not forgive, unless thou forgivest. "Forgive as I forgive." Thou wishest to be forgiven when thou askest; forgive him that asks of thee. He that is skilled in Heaven's laws has dictated these prayers: He does not deceive thee; ask according to the tenor of His heavenly voice; say, "Forgive us, as we also forgive," and do what thou sayest. He that lies in his prayers, loses the benefit he seeks; he that lies in his prayers, both loses his cause and finds his punishment. And if any one lies to the Emperor, he is convicted of his lie at his coming: but when thou liest in prayer, thou by thy very prayer art convicted. For God does not seek for witness as regards thee to convict thee. He who dictated the prayers to thee is thine Advocate; if thou liest, He is a witness against thee; if thou dost not amend thyself, He will be thy Judge. So then, both say and do it. For if thou sayest it not, thou wilt not obtain, because thou makest thy requests contrary to the law; but if thou sayest it and doest it not, thou wilt be further guilty of lying. There is no means of evading that verse save by fulfilling what we say. Can we blot this verse out of our prayer? Wouldst thou that this clause, "Forgive us our debts," should

be there, and that we should blot out what follows, "as we also forgive our debtors"? Thou shalt not blot it out, lest thou be first blotted out thyself. So then in this prayer thou sayest, "Give," and thou sayest, "Forgive"; that thou mayest receive what thou hast not and mayest be forgiven what thou hast done amiss. So then, thou that wishest to receive, give; thou that wishest to be forgiven, forgive. It is a brief summary. Hear Christ Himself in another place: "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven." What will ye forgive? What others have sinned against you. What shall ye be forgiven. What ye yourselves have sinned. Forgive. "Give, and there shall be given you what ye desire," eternal life. Support the temporal life of the poor man, sustain the poor man's present life, and for this so small and earthly seed ye shall receive for harvest life eternal. Amen.

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

SERMON ON THE TRANSFIGURATION

Augustine.

The following sermon is taken from the series of sermons that St. Augustine delivered on the New Testament lessons. The desire of the preacher to find a meaning in every detail, even when not in connection with the main subject, produces upon the modern mind a curious confusion. The strength and the weakness of St. Augustine appear in this sermon. He points out that it was a selfish desire on the part of Peter to remain on the mount. Here was the reader of the heart. But his far-fetched interpretation of the garment of the Lord is the weakness. In thus abandoning the logical development of the subject the writer diminishes the effect of the whole.

There are no details preserved of the time and place of the delivery of this sermon.

"*After six days Jesus taketh with Him Peter, and James, and John his brother.*" —Matt. xvii., 1.

WE must now look into and treat of that vision which the Lord showed on the mount. For it is this of which he had said, "Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man in His kingdom." Then began the passage which has just been read. "When He had said this, after six days He took three disciples, Peter, and James, and John, and went up into a mountain." These three were those "some" of whom he had said,

"There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man in His kingdom." There is no small difficulty here, for that mount was not the whole extent of His kingdom. What is a mountain to Him who possesseth the heavens?—which we not only read He doth, but in some sort see it with the eyes of the heart. He calleth that His kingdom, which in many places He calleth the "kingdom of heaven." Now the kingdom of heaven is the kingdom of the saints. "For the heavens declare the glory of God." And of these heavens it is directly said in the Psalm, "There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their sound is gone out through all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world." Whose words, but of the heavens, and of the Apostles, and all faithful preachers of the Word of God? These heavens, therefore, shall reign together with Him who made the heavens. Now consider what was done, that this might be made manifest.

The Lord Jesus Himself shone bright as the sun; His raiment became white as the snow; and Moses and Elias talked with Him. Jesus Himself indeed shone as the sun, signifying that "He is the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." What this sun is to the eyes of the flesh, that is He to the eyes of the heart; and what that sun is to the flesh of men, that is He to their

hearts. Now His raiment is His Church. For if the raiment be not held together by him who puts it on, it will fall off. Of this raiment, Paul was as it were a sort of last border. For he says himself, "I am the least of the Apostles." And in another place, "I am the last of the Apostles." Now in a garment the border is the last and least part. Therefore, as that woman which suffered from an issue of blood, when she had touched the Lord's border was made whole, so the Church which came from out of the Gentiles was made whole by the preaching of Paul. What wonder that the Church is signified by white raiment, when you hear the Prophet Isaiah saying, "Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow"? Moses and Elias, that is, the Law and the Prophets, what avail they, except they converse with the Lord? Except they give witness to the Lord, who would read the Law or the Prophets? Mark how briefly the Apostle expresses this—"For by the Law is the knowledge of sin; but now the righteousness of God without the Law is manifested": behold the sun; "being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets," behold the shining of the sun.

Peter sees this, and as a man savoring of the things of men says, "Lord, it is good for us to be here." He had been wearied with the multitude, he had found now the mountain's solitude; there he had Christ, the Bread of the soul. What! should he

depart thence again to travail and pains, possessed of a holy love Godward, and thereby of a good conversation? He wished well for himself; and so he added, "If Thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles; one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias." To this the Lord made no answer; but notwithstanding Peter was answered. "For while he yet spake, a bright cloud came, and overshadowed them." He desired three tabernacles; the heavenly answer showed him that we have One, which human judgment desired to divide, — Christ, the Word of God, the Word of God in the Law, the Word in the Prophets. Why, Peter, dost thou seek to divide them? It were more fitting for thee to join them. Thou seekest three; understand that they are but one.

As the cloud then overshadowed them, and in a way made one tabernacle for them, "a voice also sounded out of the cloud, which said, This is My beloved Son." Moses was there; Elias was there; yet it was not said, "These are My beloved sons." For the Only Son is one thing; adopted sons another. He was singled out in whom the Law and the Prophets gloried. "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him!" Because ye have heard Him in the Prophets, and ye have heard Him in the Law. And where have ye not heard Him? "When they heard this, they fell to the earth." See then that in the Church is

exhibited to us the kingdom of God. Here is the Lord, here the Law and the Prophets; but the Lord as the Lord; the Law in Moses, prophecy in Elias, only they as servants and as ministers. They as vessels; He as the fountain. Moses and the Prophets spake, and wrote; but when they poured out, they were filled from Him.

But the Lord stretched out His hand, and raised them as they lay. And then "they saw no man, save Jesus only." What does this mean? When the Apostle was being read, you heard, "For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face." And "tongues shall cease," when that which we now hope for and believe in shall come. In then that they fell to the earth, they signified that we die, for it was said to the flesh, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." But when the Lord raised them up, He signified the resurrection. After the resurrection, what is the Law to thee? what prophecy? Therefore neither Moses nor Elias is seen. He only remaineth to thee, "Who in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." He remaineth to thee, "that God may be all in all." Moses will be there; but now no more the Law. We shall see Elias there too; but now no more the Prophet. For the Law and the Prophets have only given witness to Christ, that it behooved Him to suffer, and to rise again from the dead the

third day, and to enter into His glory. And in this glory is fulfilled what He hath promised to them that love Him, "He that loveth Me shall be loved of My Father, and I will love him. And"—as if it were asked, What wilt Thou give him, seeing Thou wilt love him?—"And I will manifest Myself unto him." Great gift! great promise! God doth not reserve for thee as a reward anything of His own, but Himself. O thou covetous one! why does not what Christ promiseth suffice thee? Thou dost seem to thyself to be rich; yet if thou hast not God, what hast thou? Another is poor; yet if he hath God, what hath he not?

Come down, Peter: thou wast desiring to rest on the mount; come down, "preach the Word, be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." Endure, labor hard, bear thy measure of torture, that thou mayest possess what is meant by the white raiment of the Lord, through the brightness and the beauty of an upright laboring in charity. For when the Apostle was being read, we heard in praise of charity, "She seeketh not her own." "She seeketh not her own," since she gives what she possesses. In another place there is more danger in the expression if you do not understand it aright. For the Apostle, charging the faithful members of Christ after this rule of charity, says, "Let no man seek his own, but another's."

And on hearing this, covetousness is ready with its deceits, that in a matter of business, under pretence of seeking another's, one may defraud a man, and so, "seek not his own, but another's." But let covetousness restrain itself, let justice come forth; so let us hear and understand. It is to charity that it is said, "Let no man seek his own, but another's." Now, O thou covetous one, if thou wilt still resist, and twist the precept rather to this point, that thou shouldest covet what is another's, then lose what is thine own. But as I know thee well, thou dost wish to have both thine own and another's. Thou wilt commit fraud that thou mayest have what is another's; submit then to robbery that thou mayest lose thine own. Thou dost not wish to seek thine own, but then thou takest away what is another's. Now this if thou doest, thou doest not well. Hear and listen, thou covetous one: the Apostle explains to thee in another place more clearly this that he said, "Let no man seek his own, but another's." He says of himself, "Not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved." This Peter understood not yet when he desired to live on the mount with Christ. He was reserving this for thee, Peter, after death. But now He saith Himself: "Come down, to labor in the earth; in the earth to serve, to be despised, and crucified in the earth. The Life came down,

that He might be slain; the Bread came down, that He might hunger; the Way came down, that He might be wearied in the way; the Fountain came down, that He might thirst: and dost thou refuse to labor? Seek not thine own. Have charity, preach the truth; so shalt thou come to eternity, where thou shalt find security."

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

ST. AMBROSE

Ambrose was born between 333 and 340 A.D., probably at Treves, where his father, also Ambrose by name, resided as Prætorian Prefect for Gaul. The importance of his family and his great natural talents led him to seek distinction in the imperial service. To this end, he studied law and oratory. He became governor of Liguria and Æmilia with rank of Consul. His official place of residence was Milan, where he so endeared himself by his justice and benevolence, his purity of morals and nobility of character, that in 374 he was unanimously and wholly unexpectedly chosen Bishop of the see of Milan. He was at this time still unbaptized and had made no study of the subjects necessary for the successful administration of a great diocese. When the Emperor confirmed the election, Ambrose accepted the post, was baptized, ordained, and consecrated bishop. By a diligent study of theology he fitted himself for the exacting duties of his new office.

The career of this great bishop was marked by unusual vigor and courage, and by liberality and humanity, and at the same time by a fervent zeal for the Catholic faith, often expressing itself in fiery opposition to the Arian heresy. In the great controversies concerning the deity of Christ, Ambrose was, in the West, the main pillar of the Nicene orthodoxy, and his influence was eventually predominant. It was furthermore at the turning-point in the history of the Church that this great man lived. The Empire and the imperial customs were rapidly losing their hold upon men's minds; the Church was on the point of assuming the leadership which was about to be yielded by unworthy hands. The election and consecration of Ambrose at this time seems almost an allegory of the change coming over the West. No act of his career is more characteristic and better known than his attitude toward the Emperor Theodosius after the massacre

of Thessalonica, when he forced the guilty monarch to do penance for eight months before permitting him to receive the Eucharist. Ambrose died in 397 in the twenty-third year of his episcopate.

Ambrose holds an honorable position among ecclesiastical orators, though in common with the other theological writers of his time, he revised his homilies so as to construct out of them connected treatises and commentaries. Only an imperfect idea, therefore, can be obtained of his ability as a popular preacher. The oratorical effect, furthermore, of what has been preserved is often almost lost in the labyrinth of allegory and mysticism in which his most beautiful passages are often hidden. There remain, however, five discourses that may be probably called orations, viz.: the two imperial eulogies, *De Obitu Theodosii Oratio,* and *De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio,* the two addresses on the death of his brother, Satyrus, and the sermon against Auxentius. The last named of these is more characteristic of the man and his age, though possibly less beautiful than the discourses on Satyrus.

The best edition of the works of Ambrose is the Benedictine, in two volumes, Paris, 1686–1690, reprinted with additions by Migne. The most complete translations in any language are those by the Rev. H. de Romestin, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* vol. x., Christian Literature Company, New York, 1896. There are accounts of St. Ambrose in the various Church histories, encyclopædias, and Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography.* Dupin (*Ecclesiastical History,* London, 1697, vol. ii., pp. 200–234) gives a very full account of his life and writings. The best work is by Thomas Förster, *Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand,* Halle, 1884.

SERMON AGAINST AUXENTIUS

[Selection.] *Ambrose.*

The sermon against Auxentius, *De Basiliis Tradendis*, was probably delivered 385 A.D. at Milan, in the building of which a portion is still standing incorporated in the basilica of San Ambrogio. The occasion, described in the twenty-first and twenty-second letters of St. Ambrose, was the demand of the Empress Justina that two basilican churches in Milan be given up to the Arians, whom she favored. In this she was unsuccessful chiefly on account of the firm opposition of Ambrose. She later attempted to arrange a disputation between the Arians and the Catholics. This Ambrose refused to attend, and, in explanation of his conduct in the whole matter, delivered before the congregation of the excited faithful the sermon from which the following selections have been made.

I PERCEIVE that you are in an unusual manner suddenly disturbed, and are watching me. I wonder why this is, unless perchance because you have seen or heard that I received an imperial mandate at the hands of the tribunes that I should depart hence whither I desired, and that whoever wished should have the privilege of following me. Did you then fear that I would desert the Church, and forsake you through fear for my own safety? But you could mark what reply I myself made: that the wish to desert the Church could never come to me; that I feared the Lord of the Universe more than the temporal Emperor; and that if force

should drive me from the Church, my body indeed could be banished, but not my mind; and that should he do that which is usual with those possessing absolute power, I was ready to suffer the fate that falls to the lot of the priest.

Why, then, are you disquieted? I shall never willingly forsake you, though, if force be used, I know not how to resist it. I can grieve, I can weep, I can mourn; against arms, soldiers, Goths, tears are my only weapons; for such are the priest's means of defence. In any other way I ought not, I cannot, resist; but I am not wont to flee and forsake the Church; lest any one should explain my action as being the result of fear of some heavier punishment. You yourselves know that it is my manner to be deferential to emperors, but not to yield to them; to present myself readily to punishments, not to fear what is prepared for me.

Would that I might feel certain that the Church would never fall into the hands of heretics! Freely would I go to the Emperor's palace, if this became the priestly office, that I might contend for the truth in the palace rather than in the church. But in the consistory Christ is not usually the client, but the judge. Who will deny that the cause of faith should be pleaded in the church? If any one has assurance, let him come hither. Let no one seek the judgment of the Emperor, which is already biased, because he shows by the passage

Saint Ambrose.

From a drawing by Pedro Candido.

Surely, if the Lord has called me to this struggle, in vain have you kept sleepless vigils so many days and nights; the will of Christ will be done. For the Lord Jesus is omnipotent: this is our faith, and that which He decrees shall be done; it does not become us to try to thwart the divine purpose.

You have heard what was read to-day: how the Savior commanded that the foal of an ass be brought Him by the Apostles, and bade them say, if any one opposed them, "The Lord hath need of him." What and if now that foal of an ass — that is, of an animal accustomed to bear heavy burdens, like humanity, to whom it is said, "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest; take My yoke upon you, for it is easy" — what if, as I say, He has ordered that foal to be brought to Him, and has sent for it those Apostles who now, having put off the body, wear the aspect of angels, incomprehensible to human vision? If opposed by any man, will they not say, "The Lord hath need of him"? What if either love for this life, or flesh and blood, or friendly intercourse—for perchance we seem pleasing to some — were to oppose? But he who loves me will love me all the more, if he permit me to become a sacrifice for Christ; for "to depart and be with Christ is much better; yet to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sake." There is nothing, therefore, for you to fear, dearly beloved; for I know

that whatever I shall suffer I shall suffer for Christ. And I have read that I should not fear those who can slay the body. And I have heard the saying: "He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it."

If, therefore, the Lord wills, it is certain that no one may resist. And if until now He postpones my struggle, what do you apprehend? The servant of Christ is not usually protected by a body-guard, but by the Lord's providence. . . .

Let me now put before you examples drawn from the Law. Elisha was hunted by the King of Syria; an army had been sent to capture him, and he was beset on all sides. His young servant began to fear, for he was only a servant; that is, he possessed neither a free mind nor a free will. The holy Prophet endeavored to open his eyes, and said: "Behold and see how many more are on our side than are against us." And he beheld and saw thousands of angels. Observe, therefore, that it is they who are invisible, rather than they who are visible, that watch over the servants of Christ. But, if they guard you, they guard you in response to your prayers. You have doubtless read that those very men who sought Elisha entered Samaria, and came upon him whom they were eager to capture. But not only were they unable to harm him, but they themselves owed their preservation to the intercession of the man against whom they had come.

The Apostle Peter also affords us an example. For when Herod sought him and took him, he shut him up in prison; for the servant of God did not attempt to escape, but kept his stand, ignorant of fear. The Church prayed for him; but the Apostle, in his prison, slept—an evidence that he had no fear. An angel was sent, who aroused him from his sleep and led him forth from the prison; and thus, for a time, he escaped death.

Afterward, when Simon Magus had been overcome, Peter began to sow the divine doctrines among the people, and in teaching purity of life roused the anger of the Gentiles. When they strove to kill him, the Christians besought him to retire for a season. And though he desired to suffer martyrdom, yet he was deeply moved by the sight of the people praying for him; for they besought him to spare himself for the guidance and strengthening of his flock. Need I narrate the story at length? Leaving the city by night, he sees at the gate Christ approaching him and entering the city. Thereupon he says: "Lord, whither goest Thou?" Christ replied: "I am coming to be crucified a second time." Peter understood the divine reply to refer to his own cross, for Christ, who had put off the flesh by the Passion of His death, could not be crucified again, since "In that He died, He died unto sin once; but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God." Peter therefore

understood that Christ was to be crucified a second time in the person of His servant. Wherefore he gladly returned, and, when questioned by the Christians, told them the reason. He was straightway arrested, and by his cross glorified the Lord Jesus.

You see, then, that it is Christ's will to suffer in His servants. And what if He says to this servant: "I will that he tarry; but follow thou Me"; and desires to taste the fruit of this tree? For as it was His meat to do the will of the Father, so likewise is it His meat to partake of our sufferings. To take an example from our Lord Himself—when He willed, did He not suffer, and when He was sought, was He not found? But when the hour of His Passion had not yet come, He passed through the midst of them that sought Him, and, though they saw Him, they were not able to take Him. This clearly proves that when the Lord wills, each one is found and taken; but when his time is postponed, though he meet the eyes of those that seek his life, he is not taken.

And have I not been about daily, either visiting my people or going to the tombs of the martyrs? Did I not daily pass by the royal palace in going and returning? Nevertheless, no man laid hands on me, though, as they afterward acknowledged, they purposed to drive me out, saying: "Depart from the city and go whither you will." I was

expecting some great thing, I confess, either sword or fire, for the name of Christ; but they offered me agreeable things instead of sufferings: but the soldier of Christ wants no pleasant things, but His sufferings. Let no man then disquiet you, either because they made ready a carriage, or because hard words, as he thinks them, have been spoken by the mouth of Auxentius, who styles himself bishop.

Many men have told how assassins have been sent and the death-penalty decreed against me; but I do not fear all that, and I shall not desert my post here. For whither shall I go, where all things are not filled with groanings and tears? when throughout the churches, Catholic bishops are being expelled, and, if they resist, are put to the sword, and all occupying official positions, who do not obey the decree, are proscribed? and this decree was written by the hand, and spoken by the mouth, of a bishop, who—to show himself a most learned man—did not fail to insert an ancient warning; for we read in the Prophet that he saw "a flying sickle"; in imitation of this, Auxentius has despatched a flying sword through all the cities. As Satan also transforms himself into an angel of light, so he imitates his power for evil.

Thou, O Lord, didst redeem the world in a moment. Shall Auxentius in a moment slay, as far as

in him lies, so many people, some by the sword, others by charge of sacrilege? With polluted lips and blood-stained hands he seeks my basilica. To-day's lesson admirably applies to him: "But to the transgressor God hath said, Wherefore dost thou declare My righteousness?"—that is, there is no concord between peace and madness, there is no concord between Christ and Belial. You remember also that we read to-day of Naboth, a righteous man, the possessor of his own vineyard, who was urged, by the King's request, to surrender it. When the King purposed to dig up the vines and to plant common herbs, Naboth answered him: "God forbid that I should give thee the inheritance of my fathers!" The King was vexed, because he had been denied on fair grounds what was another's by right, but he was misled by a woman's craft. Naboth defended his vineyard, even with his own blood. And if he did not surrender his vineyard, shall we surrender the Church of Christ?

Did I then give an insolent answer? For, when summoned before the tribunals, I said: "Far be it from me to surrender the inheritance of Christ! If Naboth did not surrender the inheritance of his fathers, shall I surrender the inheritance of Christ?" But I did not add this: "Far be it from me that I surrender the inheritance of my fathers—that is, the inheritance of Dionysius, who for faith's sake

died in exile; the inheritance of Eustorgius the Confessor; the inheritance of Myrocles, and of all the faithful bishops of earlier times." I answered as became a bishop; let the Emperor do as becomes an emperor. Sooner may he take away my life than my faith. . . .

I recalled the people; yet I did not escape their ill-will — which ill-will, as I judge, ought to be allayed rather than to be feared. For what ought we to fear for the name of Christ? Unless perchance this should disquiet me, that they say: "Ought not the Emperor to possess one basilica to which he may go? and Ambrose desires to be more powerful than the Emperor, so that he may deny the Emperor the opportunity of going to church." When they say this, they desire to wrest my words, just as the Jews sought to entangle Christ with cunning words, saying: "Master, is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not?" Is ill-will always aroused against the servants of God on Cæsar's account? And does sacrilege make use of this for the sake of slander, inasmuch as it pleads the imperial name? And can they say that they have no part in the sacrilege of those whose teaching they follow?

Yet see how much worse are the Arians than the Jews. They inquired whether the right of tribute should be rendered to Cæsar; these desire to give to Cæsar the right of the Church. But as

these perfidious men follow their author, so ought we to answer what our Lord and Author has instructed us. For Jesus, seeing the craftiness of the Jews, said unto them: "Why tempt ye Me? show Me a penny." When they had given it, He continued, "Whose is this image and superscription?" They said unto Him, "Cæsar's." Then saith He unto them, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." Therefore I also say to those who reproach me: "Show me a penny." Jesus saw the penny of Cæsar, and said: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." Can they, in seizing the basilicas of the Church, offer the penny of Cæsar?

But in the Church I know only one image, that is, the Image of the invisible God, of which God said: "Let us make man in Our image, after Our likeness"; that Image, of which it is written that Christ is "the Brightness of His glory and the Image of His person." In that Image I discern the Father, just as the Lord Jesus Himself said: "He that seeth Me seeth the Father." For this Image is not separated from the Father, which has taught me the unity of the Trinity, saying, "I and My Father are one"; and again, "All things that the Father hath are Mine." Also of the Holy Spirit, saying that the Spirit is Christ's and hath

received of Christ, as it is written: "He shall receive of Mine, and shall declare it unto you."

Why then did we not make a humble response? If he demands tribute, we do not refuse it. The lands of the Church pay tribute. If the Emperor desire the lands, he has the power to lay claim to them; none of us will interfere. The contributions of the people can meet all the needs of the poor. Let them not arouse ill-will because of the lands; let them take them, if it is the will of the Emperor. I do not give them; but I do not refuse them. They seek gold; I can answer, "Silver and gold I seek not." But they arouse ill-feeling because gold is expended. I fear not such ill-feeling. I have dependents; my dependents are the poor of Christ. I know how to gather this treasure. Oh that they may ever charge me with this crime, that money is expended on the poor! What if they object that I seek for defence from these? I do not deny it; nay, I even solicit it. I have my defence; but it consists in the prayers of the poor. The halt and the blind, the weak and the decrepit, are mightier than robust warriors. Finally, gifts to the poor render God indebted to us, for it is written, "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord." The body-guard of warriors does not often merit divine grace.

They assert finally that the people have been led astray by the strains of my hymns. In no

wise do I deny this. That is a sublime song, and there is nothing more powerful. For what exerts more power than the confession of the Trinity, which is daily repeated in the mouth of the whole people? All vie with one another in their confession of faith; all know how to praise in verse Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Hence all have become teachers, who could hardly be disciples.

In what way, then, could we be more obedient than by following the example of Christ, "Who, being found in fashion as a man, humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death"? Also, through His obedience He has liberated all; "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous." If, therefore, He was obedient, let them accept the rule of obedience to which we adhere, answering those who, on account of the Emperor, arouse opposition to us, "We render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." That tribute is due to Cæsar we do not deny. The Church, however, is God's, therefore it should not be handed over to Cæsar, for the temple of God cannot lawfully be Cæsar's.

That I have said this with becoming deference to the Emperor no man can deny. For what is more respectful than for the Emperor to be called the son of the Church? When this is said, it is

said without sin, it is said with the Divine approval. For the Emperor is within the Church, not above the Church; for a good emperor seeks the aid of the Church, and does not decline it. As I say this with all humility, so also I affirm it with all steadfastness. Some threaten us with fire, sword, exile: we have learned, as servants of Christ, to fear naught; and to those without fear no terror is grave. Finally, it is written, "Arrows of infants their blows have become."

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

LEO THE GREAT

Leo the Great, the first Bishop of Rome of that name, was born probably between 390 and 400 A.D. Few details have been preserved concerning his early life; even the name and rank of his father are uncertain. He seems, however, to have been carefully, though not liberally educated. He shows no acquaintance with profane literature, and no knowledge of Greek. He became Archdeacon of Rome in the pontificate of Celestine (422–432), was elected Bishop of Rome in 440 while absent from the city, and was ordained priest and consecrated bishop in September of that year. In 451 the great Council of Chalcedon assembled, and Leo played a most prominent part by his letter defining the matter under discussion, and by his legates who were present and presiding. Leo's embassy to Attila in 452, when he delivered Rome from the fierce Huns, and the less successful attempt in 455 to dissuade Genseric from attacking Rome, are among the most dramatic events in history. Leo died in 461.

In the West, Leo stood forth more prominently than any other man to represent the movement rapidly gaining force, and he was able to develop that conception of the Petrine prerogative which from his time on became dominant. In the East, he was able to interfere successfully and beneficently in the interminable disputes concerning the twofold nature of Christ. Leo's definition of this great mystery was almost universally accepted. The instant recognition of the truth of Leo's position seems to have made it easier for the Orientals to admit, though incompletely, the Petrine claims. The *Tome,* or Leo's brief treatise on the divine and human natures of Christ, is one of the most valuable contributions to theological science which the century produced.

Leo was equally successful in inculcating the doctrine of the position and prerogatives of the Roman See. Through all

parts of Western Europe his influence was felt in extirpating heresy and maintaining discipline, and he made Rome a power in the controversies with the Manichæans and other forms of heresy. The appeal to authority and the clear vision of an unbroken tradition quieted the disputes that were then raging.

Leo's writings that have been preserved are the Sermons and the Letters. A few spurious pieces are in circulation under his name. His sermons are for the most part short, pithy, practical discourses. His style is refined and polished, although at times over-elaborated and wearisome in the ornate construction of the periods. He was the first great preacher at Rome, and was unrivalled in the West.

The best edition of Leo's works is that published by Migne, Paris, 1846. It is founded upon the two earlier editions, the Gallican, edited by P. Quesnel, and the Jesuit, by P. and H. Ballerini. Canon W. Bright has published translations of eighteen sermons and the *Tome*. The Rev. Charles Lett Feltoe has made translations of many letters and all the sermons.

The literature on Leo is very voluminous, but unfortunately it is largely polemical in spirit. The Rev. Charles Gore has written a useful little life for the S. P. C. K. See also his article, "Leo," in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Leo's important place in Church history insures extensive treatment of his life and work in all histories of the Christian Church. See, especially, Langen, *Geschichte der Römischen Kirche von Leo I. bis Nikolaus I.*, Bonn, 1885, chapter i.; also R. J. Rohrbacher, *Histoire Universelle de l'Église Catholique*, Paris, 1868, iv., 461–575.

SERMON ON HIS BIRTHDAY

Leo the Great.

The following sermon is the third in the collected sermons of Leo the Great bearing this title. They were delivered, not on the literal birthday of the speaker, but on the anniversary of his elevation to the episcopate. In this sermon Leo enunciates clearly the doctrine which was ever after predominant in the Church : that from Christ and through St. Peter the priesthood is handed on in perpetuity, and that St. Peter's work is still carried on by his successors. The subject is stated in the greatest simplicity and clearness, and supported in an eminently practical manner.

AS often as divine compassion deigns to renew for us the days of His benefactions, there is, dearly beloved, a just and reasonable cause for rejoicing, if the source of our appointment to the priestly office be referred to the Author of it. For though I consider that the observance of God is binding indeed on all His priests, yet I take it as peculiarly applicable to me when I think of my own unworthiness and the greatness of the office that I hold, and I feel that I should utter the exclamation of the Prophet, " Lord, I heard Thy speech and was afraid ; I considered Thy works and was dismayed." For what is so unusual and so fearful as labor to the weak, sublimity to the humble,

dignity to the undeserving? Yet we do not grow faint nor despair, because our trust is not in ourselves, but in Him who worketh in us. Accordingly we have sung in unison the psalm of David, dearly beloved, not to our own glory, but to the glory of Christ our Lord. For it is of Him that it is prophetically written, "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek": that is, not after the order of Aaron, whose priesthood, descending in his own family, was a temporal necessity, and ceased with the law of the Old Testament; but after the order of Melchizedek, in whom the Eternal High-Priesthood was prefigured, and no statement is made regarding his parentage, because he was the type of Him whose generation cannot be declared. And now finally, when the mystery of this divine priesthood is accomplished through human agencies, the line of birth is not regarded, nor is that which flesh and blood has created and selected, but men whom the Holy Spirit hath ordained are appointed by the Church as its rulers; so that among the people of God's adoption the prerogative of earthly origin obtaineth not the unction, but the condescension of divine grace appointeth the bishop.

Accordingly, dearly beloved, though we be found infirm and negligent in the performance of the duties of our office, and however much we may desire to be strenuous and active in everything,

nevertheless we are hindered by our human frailty; yet, as we have the lasting propitiation of our omnipotent and eternal High Priest, who, being similar to us yet equal to the Father, brought down His divine nature to humanity, and elevated humanity to the divine, we may worthily and devoutly rejoice at His dispensation, seeing that though He has committed to many shepherds the care of His sheep, yet He preserves His guardianship over His beloved flock. And from His overruling and eternal guardianship we have received also the protection of His Holy Apostles, the efficacy of which certainly never ceases; and the stability of the foundation, which supports the superstructure of the Church, is not weakened by the weight of the temple resting upon it. For the solidity of the faith, which is praised in the chief of the Apostles, is everlasting; and just as abides that which Peter believed in Christ, so abides that which Christ instituted in Peter. For when, as was just read in the Gospel lesson, the Lord had asked His disciples who they believed Him to be, and after the expression of various opinions Peter had replied, saying, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God," the Lord says: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father, which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My church,

and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

The dispensation of Truth therefore remains, and the blessed Peter, persevering in the strength of the Rock, which he received, has not deserted the helm of the Church, which was intrusted to him. For he was ordained before the rest to this end, that, being called Peter, pronounced the Foundation, appointed the Doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven, named as Arbiter to bind and to loose, whose decisions are valid even in heaven—that from the mystery of all these appellations, we might know the nature of his association with Christ. And even now he more fully and potently carries out that which was committed to him, and fulfils every part of his duties and functions in Him and through Him by whom he was glorified. Accordingly, if anything is rightly done by us, if anything is rightly deemed, if anything is obtained from the mercy of God through our daily supplications, it is of His works and merits, in whose seat His power lives and His authority holds sway. For this was obtained, dearly beloved, by that confession which, inspired by God the Father in the heart of the Apostle, transcended all the

uncertainty of human opinions, and received the stability of a rock, that could be moved by no assaults. For in the universal Church Peter says daily, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God," and every tongue which confesses Christ is inspired by the lesson of these words. This faith conquers the devil, and looses the chains of his captives; it transplants us from earth to heaven, and the gates of hell cannot prevail against it. For with such stability is it divinely fortified, that the depravity of the heretics cannot corrupt it, nor the unbelief of the heathen overcome it.

Accordingly, dearly beloved, with becoming humility to-day's festival is celebrated in such a manner that in my humble person he may be recognized and honored, in whom rests the care of all the shepherds, together with the custody of the sheep committed to him, and whose dignity is not lowered even in so unworthy a successor. Wherefore the presence of my reverend brethren and fellow-priests, so greatly cherished and esteemed by me, will be the more sacred and precious if they will transfer the chief sanctity of this office, of which they are deemed worthy to partake, to him whom they know to be not only the patron of this see but also the primate of all the bishops. When therefore we give you our exhortation, believe that he speaks in whose stead

we are acting; because we admonish you with his admonition, and we preach to you nothing else but that which he teaches, beseeching you to "gird up the loins of your mind," and to lead a pure and sober life in the fear of God, and not to suffer your mind, forgetful of His authority, to yield to the lusts of the flesh. Brief and transient are the joys of worldly pleasures, which attempt to turn aside from the path of life those who are called to eternity.

The faithful and devout spirit, therefore, must long for those things which are from above, and, eager in the pursuit of the divine promises, raise itself to the love of the incorruptible Good and the hope of the true Light. And be assured, dearly beloved, that your labor, whereby you resist vices and fight against the lusts of the flesh, is pleasing and precious in the sight of God, and will profit not only you, but me also, in the mercy of God, because the solicitude of the pastor glories in the progress of God's flock. "For ye are my crown and joy," as says the Apostle, if your faith, which from the beginning of the Gospel has been preached in all the world, has continued in love and sanctity. For though all the Church, which is all the world, ought to abound in every virtue, it becomes you especially, above all others, to excel in acts of piety,—you whom, established on the very citadel of the Apostolic rock, not only has our Lord Jesus

Christ redeemed together with all men, but the Apostle Peter has taught far beyond all men. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Professor in the Columbian University.

ON THE FEAST OF THE NATIVITY

[Selection.] *Leo the Great.*

The sermon from which the following extract has been made is the fourth in the series on the Nativity. This sermon well illustrates Leo's method of preaching. He avoids the usual style of the exegetes of his time, in that he rarely comments on a text. His sermons are based upon suggestions arising from the occasion of their delivery.

DIVINE Goodness, dearly beloved, has indeed in divers manners and in various degrees always bestowed kindness upon the human race, and has mercifully contributed many blessings of His providence to all the past ages; but in these latter times He has surpassed all the bountifulness of His usual kindness, when in Christ mercy itself has come down to sinners, truth itself to the erring, life itself to the dead; so that that Word, coeternal and coequal with the Father, might bring our human nature into union with the Godhead, and, having been born God of God, might likewise be born Man of man. This was indeed promised from the foundation of the world, and was ever prophesied by many intimations derived from words and events; but how small a number of men would have been saved by these symbols

and foreshadowed mysteries, if the coming of Christ had not fulfilled these long and hidden promises, and if that which then profited a few believers in anticipation did not now, in its fulfilment, benefit myriads of the faithful! At the present time we are not led to saving faith by types and symbols, but, convinced by the Gospel narrative, we worship what we believe to have existed. The teachings of the prophets add to our knowledge, so that there can be no doubt whatever about that which we know to have been predicted by such great oracles. It is on this account, therefore, that the Lord says to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." This is why David sings in a prophetic strain the promise of God: "The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David; He will not turn from it: Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne." Hence the Lord again says through Isaiah, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and His name shall be called Immanuel, which is interpreted, God with us"; and again, "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots." In the rod, doubtless, is typified the Virgin Mary, who sprang from the stock of Jesse and David, who conceived of the Holy Ghost, and brought forth a new flower of human flesh, from the maternal womb indeed, yet of a virgin mother.

Let the righteous therefore rejoice in the Lord, and let the hearts of believers praise His holy name, and let the sons of men confess His wondrous benefactions; since especially in this work of God our humanity recognizes how highly it is regarded by its Maker, in the fact that, after He had contributed so much to man's origin in making us after His own image, He contributed far more bountifully to our restoration when the Lord took on Him "the form of a servant." For although whatever the Creator bestows upon the creature is of an equal fatherly compassion, it is nevertheless less strange that man should ascend to the Divine than that God should descend to the human. But unless the Omnipotent God condescended to do this, no manner of justice, no form of wisdom, could rescue man from the captivity of the devil and from the deep of eternal death. For the condemnation that came upon all with the sin of one would abide, and our nature, infected from its deadly wound, would find no cure, because it could not of its own strength change its condition. For the first man received from the earth the substance of the flesh, and through the inbreathing of the Creator became a living, rational soul, so that, living after the image and similitude of his Creator, he might preserve in the splendor of his imitation, as in a clear mirror, the form of God's goodness and righteousness. And if he had

continued to uphold this lofty dignity of his nature, through observance of the law given to him, his pure understanding would have advanced the quality of the terrestrial body even to celestial glory. But because he rashly and unhappily hearkened to the envious deceiver, and acquiesced in his insolent counsels, preferring to seize the increase of honor awaiting him rather than to win it, not only that man, but all his posterity, heard the sentence, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." Therefore, "as of the earth, such are they also that are earthy," and no one is immortal, because no one is heavenly by nature.

Consequently, to loose this chain of sin and death, the omnipotent Son of God, filling all things, containing all things, equal in all respects to the Father and coeternal in one essence from Him and with Him, took upon Him the nature of man, and the Creator and Lord of all things condescended to become a mortal; choosing for Himself as mother one whom He had made, one who, without sacrifice of virgin honor, contributed so much of bodily substance that, without the defilement of human seed, the New Man might be possessed of purity and truth. The nature of Christ, therefore, though born of a virgin womb, does not essentially differ from our own because His Nativity is marvellous. For He who is true God is

likewise true Man; and there is no deception in either substance. "The Word became flesh" through the exaltation of the flesh, not through the humiliation of the Godhead; who so moderated His power by His goodness as to elevate our nature by assuming it, without detracting from His own by communicating it. According to the prophecy of David, in this Nativity of Christ "truth sprang out of the earth, and righteousness looked down from heaven." In this is also fulfilled the saying of Isaiah, "Let the earth produce and bring forth a Savior, and let righteousness spring up with Him." For the earth of human flesh, which was cursed in the first offender, in this offspring of the Blessed Virgin alone brought forth a seed that was blessed and free from the blemish of its stock. Every one in regeneration attains to this spiritual origin; and to every one, when born again, the baptismal water is the symbol of the Virgin's womb; for the same Holy Spirit who filled the Virgin fills also the font, that this mystical ablution may remove the sin which was overcome by that sacred conception.

Translated for this volume by Mitchell Carroll, Ph. D., Professor in the Columbian University.

GREGORY THE GREAT

Gregory the Great was born in Rome about 540 A.D. Gordianus, his father, was a man of great wealth and of senatorial rank. Gregory was educated in the legal profession, and was so successful that when but thirty-one years of age he had already obtained the responsible office of *prætor urbanus*. In 574 he gave up his office, retired from public life, distributed among various charities the large estate left him by his father, and became a monk in the monastery of St. Andrew, one of the six which he had founded. In 578 he was chosen abbot; in 582, having already been made one of the seven deacons of the Roman Church, he was sent to the imperial court at Constantinople, as papal apocrisiarius. In 590 he was chosen pope; he accepted that exalted office with reluctance, but discharged his new duties with zeal and success. In his pontificate (590–604) he carried out the principles of Leo the Great, contended successfully with the remnants of ancient heresies, reorganized the ritual of the Church, established ecclesiastical discipline throughout the West, and forwarded, especially among the Anglo-Saxons, the cause of missions. He died March 21, 604.

The moral character of Gregory was unblemished. His piety, his zeal, his faith, his charity, his firmness,—these and other noble qualities produced a profound impression upon his contemporaries. His literary taste, however, was unmistakably crude. He had little knowledge of classical literature, which he despised. He even boasted that he made no effort to avoid barbarisms and inelegancies. His style is, however, clear, but diffuse.

The works of Gregory are very numerous, and have exercised an immense influence upon the Church. They are: the *Moralia on Job*, in thirty-five books; *Homilies on Ezekiel* and *Homilies on the Gospels; Liber Regulæ Pastoralis*, a treatise

on the ministry ; *Dialogues on the Lives of the Italian Saints,* and his Epistles, of which a very large number have been preserved. The *Dialogues* were very early translated into many languages ; the *Moralia on Job* appear in English in the Oxford Library of the Fathers ; the *Liber Regulæ Pastoralis* and many of the Epistles (selection open to criticism as *tendenziös*) have been translated by the Rev. James Barmby. The best edition of Gregory's works is the Benedictine, in four volumes, folio, Paris, 1704, reprinted by Migne. Gregory's life and times have necessarily been fully treated by all historians of the Church. Among the many works on Gregory the following should be mentioned : Lau, *Gregor der Grosse nach seinem Leben und Lehre dargestellt,* Leipsic, 1845 ; Snow, *St. Gregory the Great, his Work and his Spirit,* London, 1892 ; Barmby, *Gregory the Great,* London, 1879. See, also, Langen, *Geschichte der Römischen Kirche von Leo I. bis Nikolaus I.,* Bonn, 1885 ; Baxman, *Die Politik der päpste von Gregor I. bis auf Gregor VII.,* Elberfeld, 1868.

ON JOB

[Selection.] *Gregory the Great.*

The following extract from Gregory's very extensive work on Job illustrates his style of preaching and his method of expounding the Bible. Gregory was a master of the allegorical method of interpretation, and there is very little doubt that the great popularity in the Middle Ages of this system of exegesis was due to the sermons of Gregory, which were much used and admired.

The *Moralia on Job* were composed in the years preceding the pontificate of Gregory. They were originally discourses on the book of Job which he delivered before his fellow-monks in the monastery in which he lived. The plan on which they were written was to give first an allegorical interpretation of the passage and then a moral application of the text. The sermons were collected in later years by the author, and with some revision were published in thirty-five books.

"The silver hath the beginnings of its veins, and to the gold there is a place, where they fine it."

IN silver the power of speaking, in gold brightness of life or of wisdom, is used to be denoted. And because heretics are so filled with pride for the brilliancy of their speaking that they are not based firmly on any authority of the sacred books (which books are for speaking like a kind of veins of silver to us, because from those identical books we derive the spring and source of our speaking), he recalls them to the pages of sacred authority, that if they have a desire to speak in a true way, they may from that source draw forth what to say. And he

saith, "The silver hath the beginnings of its veins, and to the gold there is a place, where they fine it."

As if he said in plain words: "He that is fitting himself for the words of true preaching, the originals of the cases he must of necessity derive from the sacred page, so as to bring round everything that he speaks to a foundation of divine authority, and in that set firm the edifice of his own speaking." For, as we before said, oftentimes heretics, whilst they are eager to prop up what is bad of their own, broach things which assuredly are not maintained in the page of the sacred books. And hence the great Preacher admonishes His disciple, saying, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane novelties of speaking," for whereas heretics long to be extolled as if for excellency of wit, they as it were bring out new things which are not maintained in the old books of the ancient Fathers, and thus it follows, that whilst they desire to appear wise, they scatter seeds of foolishness to their wretched hearers.

And it is well added: "And to the gold there is a place, where they fine it." As if he said in plain terms: "The true wisdom of believers, which has the Church Universal for its place, undergoes tribulation by you persecuting her, but from all the dross of sins by the fire of your persecution she is purified." Whence it is written: "For gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of

Gregory the Great.
From an old print.

Whosoever, then, is divided from this unity of the Church our Mother, either through heresy in entertaining wrong notions concerning God, or by the erroneousness of schism in not loving his neighbor, is bereft of the grace of that charity, concerning which Paul saith what we have before given: "And though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." As if he expressed himself in plain utterance: "Without the bounds of its place, the fire of fining being applied to me only afflicts me with torment, and does not purify me by its cleansing." This place all that are lovers of holy peace seek with heartiest endeavors, this on seeking they find, this finding they keep, knowing the remission of sin, as to where, or when, or to what sort it is vouchsafed. For where is it, save in the bosom of our Catholic Mother? When, but before the day of coming departure? Because, "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." And, "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near." To what sort of persons, but to the converted, who after the imitating of little children are fashioned by humility as their mistress? To whom it is said: "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven." And therefore, because there are no true martyrs made saving in the Catholic Church, it is rightly said, "To the gold

there is a place, where they fine it." Because the soul would not be made bright in the radiance of everlasting beauty, except, so to say, it were first burnt here in the workshop of charity.

Moreover, we are to consider that there are some whom Almighty God by His secret counsel preserving in innocency from their very beginnings, promotes to the topmost heights of virtuous attainments, that, as their age increases, both numerousness of years and loftiness of merits should simultaneously advance in them. But others abandoning in their outset, He suffers to go with bad habits fermenting by headlong ways. Yet for the most part even these He has regard to, and for the following after Him He kindles them with the fire of holy love, and the itchings of bad propensities ingrained in their hearts He converts into a fervor of virtue, and they are the more set on fire to the desire of beseeching the mercy of God, in proportion as they are the more ashamed at the recollection of their own wickedness; as it often happens, that in the conflict of the fight the soldier who is placed before the eyes of his leader basely yields to the enemy's valor, and that while he powerlessly turns his back he is struck; yet nevertheless being ashamed of this very thing that he has done disgracefully before his leader's eyes, from the mere sense of shame he gathers greater force; and afterwards executes

deeds of prowess, to so high degree that he may at once achieve present credit of his valor, and cover past disgrace of weakness. In a like way, these persons are sometimes more actively established in the service of God by consequence of past weakness, and such persons for the keeping of His commandments both the desire of things future draws on, and the remembrance of things past urges forward, that on the one side affection to that which is to come should stimulate, and, on the other, shame for that which is past spur on Which same however, while the enemies of the Church see to be endowed with the highest virtues, and in their present life cannot any way find out that whereby they may derogate from their merit, they set themselves to impeach them of the past, as the Manichæan assails our Moses, in whom he endeavors to soil with the sin of a past homicide the grace of subsequent virtuous attainments, in whom he heeds not how patient he was afterwards to endure, but how precipitate he was before to strike. Such adversaries as these blessed Job encountering with the exactest eye of observation, after that he said, "Silver hath the beginnings of its veins, and to gold there is a place where they fine it," he justly added, "Iron is taken out of the earth."

Heretics are used to pride themselves against us by the self-priding of their righteousness, and to

boast high their practices with the swelling of ostentation, and ourselves, as we have said, they impeach either for being or having been bad persons. Accordingly in a most humble confession, and in a truthful defence against those, the holy man speaks, saying, Iron is taken out of the earth. As if he said in plain speech: "Men of strength, who by the sharpest swords of their tongues are become iron in this pitched battle of the defending of the faith, were one time but 'earth' in the lowest sphere of actions." "For to man on his sinning it was spoken: Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." But "iron is taken out of the earth" when the hardy champion of the Church is separated from an earthly course of conduct, which he before maintained. Accordingly he ought not to be contemned in anything whatever that he was, who has already begun to be that which he was not. Was not Matthew found in the earth, who, involved in earthly matters, served the business of the receipt of custom? But having been taken out of the earth, he was strengthened into the forcibleness of iron, in that by his tongue, as by the sharpest sword, the Lord in the enforcing of the Gospel pierced the hearts of unbelievers. And he that before was weak and contemptible by his earthly occupations, was afterwards made strong for heavenly preachings.

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

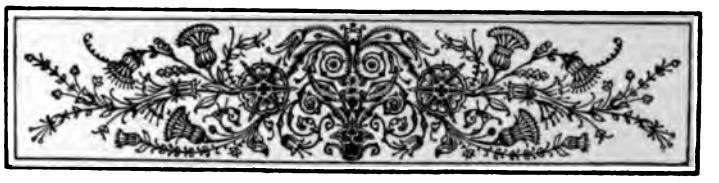
RABANUS MAURUS

Rabanus Maurus Magnentius was born at Mayence 776 A.D. His family was of noble rank, and his early education was obtained at the famous school at Fulda. He remained until 801, in which year he was made a deacon. He then studied under Alcuin at Tours in France, and received from his master the name of Maurus from St. Maurus, the disciple of St. Benedict. The first work of Rabanus on returning to Fulda in 804 was in connection with the school of the monastery, which under him became the best of the period, and was distinguished by three of the best scholars of the time,—Walafrid Strabo, Servatus Lupus, and Otfrid of Weissenburg. Rabanus was ordained priest in 814, and became Abbot of Fulda in 822. In later years, after a pilgrimage to Palestine, and a long monastic career, he became Archbishop of Mayence in 847, and held the office for eight years. He died at Winkel, February 4, 856.

Rabanus was the most prolific writer of his age, and was certainly one of the most learned. He had a good knowledge of Greek and knew some Hebrew, a most unusual accomplishment in the ninth century. It might be difficult to point out any great oratorical ability in the many sermons which have survived, yet he enjoys an honorable place in the list of the world's orators. The reason of this is that his sermons formed an unauthorized but extremely valuable and widely used *Book of Homilies.* They set the pattern for the preaching of the age, and in many cases were the only sermons that were heard.

The works of Rabanus were first collected and published by Colnever, Cologne, 1627. With the exception of mere fragments, they have not been translated. The best works on Rabanus are : Spengler, *Leben des heiligen Hrabanus Magnentius Maurus,* 1841 ; Köhler, ***Rabanus Maurus und die Schule***

von Fulda, 1870 ; Kunstmann, ***Rabanus Magnentius Maurus,*** 1841. Dupin gives a fair account of Rabanus and his works in his *History of Ecclesiastical Writers, Ninth Century,* London, 1695. See also Bähr, ***Geschichte der Römischen Literatur in Karolingen Zeitalter,*** 1840.



A SERMON FOR SUNDAY

Rabanus Maurus.

The circumstances and motives prompting Rabanus to write the collection of sermons of which the following is an example are set forth in the preface to the first part of his sermons. "To the holy and venerable Father Haistulf, Archbishop, Hrabanus, a poor servant of the servants of God! In obedience to your commands, I have composed a book of sermons to be preached to the people, in all subjects which I consider necessary for them. Since I could not on account of the variety of my occupations, publish all of them at once, but only as opportunity allowed, I have sent them separately to you. I now request you to have them collected into one volume, and to see that this epistle, with the following list, be placed at their head, so that readers may know, should they find any profit from them, that it arises not from my diligence in study, but from my obedience to your commands."

YOU must know, beloved brethren, that our holy Fathers ordained and commended to all Christians to rest and abstain from all worldly labors on the Festivals of the Saints, but more especially on the Sundays, that they might be more ready and prompt for the worship of God, and might not be exposed to any inconvenience that should hold them back from it; and that they might for a time dismiss all worldly anxiety, so as more easily to be able to understand the will of God. Whence the Lord Himself saith by the

Prophet, "Be still then, and know that I am God." But for those who are mixed up in divers cares and matters of business, and despise this commandment of God, and have no leisure for contemplation of divine things, I fear lest in the future judgment, when they knock at the door of the Lord, and demand that it should be opened to them, the answer should be, "Verily, I say unto you, I know you not; depart from Me, all ye that work iniquity"; and that they who now neglect God should then be rejected by Him. Wherefore, my brethren, do not find it a trouble to attend God's worship on the Sundays and the Festivals of the Saints. The Apostles and apostolic men ordained that the Sunday should be kept holy for this reason: because it was on that day that our Redeemer rose from the dead. And it is therefore called the Lord's Day, that we, abstaining from earthly business and the snares of this world, may serve God, and we only give honor and reverence to this day on account of the hope of our resurrection which we have in it. For, as our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ rose again the third day from the dead, so we also hope that we shall rise at the last day.

It appears also in Holy Scripture that the day is holy; it was the first day of all; in it were formed the elements of the world; in it the angels were created; in it Christ also rose from the dead; in

it the Holy Ghost came down from heaven upon the Apostles; in it manna was first given from heaven in the desert. From such proofs as these, Sunday comes before us as an illustrious day, and the holy doctors of the Church instructed us to transfer all the glory of the Jewish Sabbath to it. What they did in figure, we may do in reality; because then will be our true rest, when the resurrection shall have been accomplished, and our recompense, both in soul and body, be perfected.

Let us observe, therefore, brethren, the Sunday and sanctify it, as it was commanded the Jews concerning their Sabbath; for their Lawgiver said, "From evening to evening, ye shall observe your Sabbaths." Let us see, therefore, that our rest be not in vain, but, from the evening of the Saturday to the evening of the Sunday, have nothing to do with any farm labor or any other business, and give yourself up to God's worship only. Thus shall we rightly sanctify the Sabbath of the Lord, according to this commandment, Ye shall do no work in it. Let every one therefore who can, come to vespers and to nocturns, and there pray in the congregation of the Church, confessing his sins to God; and he who cannot do so much, at least let him pray in his own house, and not neglect to pay his vows to God and to render the service due to Him. And on the day itself, let no one fail to attend the holy celebration of the Mass, and let

no one remain idle at home, when others are going to church ; let no man occupy himself about hunting, and engage in the devil's work ; nor roam about the fields and woods, shouting and laughing, instead of raising from his heart sighs and prayers to God. And (what is yet more detestable) some who come to church neither enter, nor pray, nor wait with silence for the celebration of the Mass ; but when the lessons are being read within, they are either transacting law business, or indulging in calumny without, or giving themselves up to dice, or to useless games. Sometimes also (which is even yet worse), some give way to excessive passion, and strive so furiously as to use clubs and other weapons, and even to commit murder. And this takes place among those who, full of envy and hatred, having the devil as their guide, go to church, not that they may benefit themselves, but that they may hurt others. If such an one perishes there by murder, or is hurried off by sudden death, whither else will he go than with him whose footsteps he was following to eternal punishment? Do not do such things as these, my brethren ; do not deceive yourselves ; do not, when you are gathered together, give place to the devil, but rather prepare yourselves as a dwelling-place for Christ. Do not give your attention outside to vain talk ; but within to psalms and prayers.

Do not talk to each other in church, but be

quiet. For there are many, and principally women, who so chatter in church, who so constantly talk, that they neither hear the lessons themselves nor allow others to hear them. An assembling together after such a fashion ought not, my brethren, to be in the house of God; we ought not thus to stand in the presence of God and of His holy angels.

Furthermore, I wish to complain to you of that which is a subject of great grief to me. There are some, and they principally the mighty men of this world, who, when they come to church, are not devout in celebrating the praises of God, but oblige the priest to shorten the Mass, and to sing it as they choose; nor is he able to follow out the rite of the Church on account of their gluttony or avarice; and they thus allot one moment of the day to the service of God, and all the rest of it, and the night also, to their own pleasures. . . .

I beseech you, beloved fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by His coming kingdom and judgment, that ye withdraw yourselves from every man who walks disorderly, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called; and that ye neglect not the honor which ye have received, but constantly keep in mind the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. Ye are called the sons of God because the true Son of God hath set you free.

Study by a good life to please such a Father, to the end that He may not deliver you as most evil servants to everlasting punishment, but may bring you as dear children to our heavenly country, that ye may be coheirs of His Son, Jesus Christ.

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

BEDE

The Venerable Bede was born in the year 674 A.D., near Wearmouth in the county Durham. According to the account which he gives of his life at the end of his *Ecclesiastical History,* he was placed in the monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow at the age of seven, where he was educated by the Abbot Benedict and the monk Ceolfrid. At the age of nineteen he received deacon's orders, and at thirty he entered the priesthood. When he was fifty-nine he said of his life at Jarrow, "Spending all the remaining time of my life in that monastery, I wholly applied myself to the study of Scripture, and amidst the observance of regular discipline, and the daily care of singing in the church, I always took delight in learning, teaching and writing."

Cuthbert, Bede's scholar, gives an affecting account of his master's death. Not long before his last illness he had begun an Anglo-Saxon translation of St. John's Gospel, and in spite of his pain he labored upon it. On Ascension Day there remained but one chapter untranslated. Conscious of his rapidly approaching end, he hastened his amanuensis. Having become much weaker, he called the monks around him, and bade them all farewell. His firm will kept him at his work until the last verse was written, while his brethren stood weeping around him. When the translation was ended, he exclaimed: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," and died, May 26, 735.

Bede's works are very numerous and cover the whole field of science (natural and theological), history, biography, and poetry. Much has been lost, though enough remains to explain his enormous influence upon mediæval thought. He was not a man of originality of thought, but a diligent scholar and compiler. His sermons are not among his greatest works, though in an age when the homiletical art was at its nadir

they seem remarkably eloquent. His *Ecclesiastical History of England* is, however, in spite of the defects due to the age, one of the greatest historical works in existence. It has been said of him that, in spite of his limitations, he united in himself nearly all the essential characteristics of the ideal historian. He was the father of English history, the teacher and master of his age and the following centuries.

Bede's extant works have been published often (*e.g.*, Paris, 1521, 1544, 1545, 1554; Basle, 1563; Cologne, 1612, 1688). J. A. Giles has published an attempted critical edition, London, 1843–1844, with a translation of the historical works; republished in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vols. xc.–xcv. His *Ecclesiastical History of England* has been translated and edited by J. A. Giles, and is to be found in Bohn's Library. To this there is prefixed a brief account of his life. The best work on Bede is Werner, *Beda der Ehrwurdige und seine Zeit*, Vienna, 1881. See also G. F. Browne, *The Venerable Bede*, and Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

SERMON ON ALL SAINTS

The Venerable Bede.

The following is generally recognized as the best sermon of its famous author. Giles, however, regards it as spurious, but upon insufficient authority. It has always been popular in the Church and found its way very early into the Breviaries of the West. In the Middle Ages it was frequently read in church during the octave of the feast of All Saints. No details can be given of this or of the other sermons of the Venerable Bede. Doubtless all were written at Jarrow, in the course of the duties of the position which Bede held.

TO-DAY, beloved, we celebrate in the joy of one solemnity, the festival of All Saints: in whose companionship the heaven exults; in whose guardianship the earth rejoices; by whose triumphs Holy Church is crowned; whose confession, as braver in its passion, is also brighter in its honor, — because while the battle increased, the glory of them that fought in it was also augmented,--and the triumph of martyrdom is adorned with the manifold kind of its torments, because the more severe the pangs, the more illustrious also were the rewards; while our Mother, the Catholic Church, was taught by her Head, Jesus Christ, not to fear contumely, affliction, death; and more and

more strengthened,—not by resistance, but by endurance,—inspired all of that illustrious number who suffered imprisonment or torture, with one and equal ardor to fight the battle for triumphal glory.

O truly blessed Mother Church! so illuminated by the honor of divine condescension, so adorned by the glorious blood of triumphant martyrs, so decked with the inviolate confession of snow-white virginity! Among its flowers neither roses nor lilies are wanting. Endeavor now, beloved, each for yourselves, in each kind of honor, to obtain your own dignity—crowns, snow-white for chastity, or purple for passion. In those heavenly camps, both peace and war have their own flowers wherewith the soldiers of Christ are crowned.

For the ineffable and unbounded goodness of God has provided this also, that the time for labor and for agony should not be extended,—not long, not enduring, but short, and, so to speak, momentary; that in this short and little life should be the pain and the labors, that in the life which is eternal should be the crown and the reward of merits; that the labors should quickly come to an end, but the reward of endurance should remain without end; that after the darkness of this world they should behold that most beautiful light, and should receive a blessedness greater than the

bitterness of all passions; as the Apostle beareth witness, when he saith, "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us."

With how joyous a breast the heavenly city receives those that return from flight! How happily she meets them that bear the trophies of the conquered enemy! With triumphant men, women also come, who rose superior both to this world, and to their sex, doubling the glory of their welfare; virgins with youths, who surpassed their tender years by their virtues. Yet not they alone, but the rest of the multitude of the faithful shall also enter the palace of that eternal court, who in peaceful union have observed the heavenly commandments, and have maintained the purity of the faith.

Now, therefore, brethren, let us enter the way of life; let us return to the celestial city, in which we are citizens enrolled and inscribed. For we "are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens of the saints, and of the household of God," "heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ." The gates of this city are opened to us by fortitude; and faith will afford us a broad entrance. Let us consider, therefore, the felicity of that heavenly habitation, in so far as it is possible to consider it — for to speak the truth, no words of man are sufficient to comprehend it.

Of that city it is written in a certain place thus: "that grief, and sorrow, and crying shall flee away." What can be happier than that life where there is no fear of poverty, no weakness of disease; where none can be hurt, none can be angry; where none can envy, none can be impure; where none can be tormented with the desire of honor or the ambition of power? No fear there of the devil; no snares there of evil spirits; no terror there of hell; no death there, either of soul or body, but a life blessed in the life of immortality. No discord there forever, but all things in harmony, all things in agreement: because there will be one concord of all saints—one peace and one joy. Tranquil are all things there, and quiet. Perpetual is the splendor there; not such as the sunlight which now is, but both more glorious and more happy; because that city, as we read, needeth not the light of the sun, for the Lord God giveth it light, and its brightness is the Lamb. There, "they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

Wherefore, there is no night there,—no darkness, no gathering of clouds, no asperity of cold or heat; but such will be the nature of things, as "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man," except of those who are counted worthy to inherit it, whose

names are written in the Book of Life, who have washed their robes in the Blood of the Lamb, and are before the throne of God, and serve Him night and day. There is no old age there, nor misery of old age; while all "come to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

But above all these things is the being associated with the companies of angels and archangels, thrones and dominations, principalities and powers, and the enjoyment of the watches of all the celestial virtues,—to behold the squadron of the saints, adorned with stars; the patriarchs, glittering with faith; the prophets, rejoicing in hope; the Apostles, who in the twelve tribes of Israel, shall judge the whole world; the martyrs, decked with the purple diadems of victory; the virgins, also, with their wreaths of beauty. But of the King, who is in the midst, no words are able to speak. That beauty, that virtue, that glory, that magnificence, that majesty, surpasses every expression, every sense of the human mind. For it is greater than the glory of all saints; but to attain to that ineffable sight, and to be made radiant with the splendor of His countenance, it were worth while to suffer torment every day — it were worth while to endure hell itself for a season, so that we might behold Christ coming in glory, and be joined to the number of the saints. So is

it not then well worth while to endure earthly sorrows, that we may be partakers of such good, and of such glory ?

What, beloved brethren, will be the glory of the righteous ; what that great gladness of the saints, when every face shall shine as the sun ; when the Lord shall begin to count over in distinct orders His people, and to receive them into the kingdom of His Father, and to render to each the rewards promised to their merits and to their works,—things heavenly for things earthly, things eternal for things temporal, a great reward for a little labor ; to introduce the saints to the vision of His Father's glory ; and "to make them sit down in heavenly places," to the end that God may be all in all ; and to bestow on them that love Him that eternity which He hath promised to them — that immortality for which He has redeemed them by the quickening of His own blood ; lastly, to restore them to Paradise, and to open the kingdom of heaven by the faith and verity of His promise !

Let these things be ingrafted firmly in our senses — be understood by the fulness of our faith — be loved with the whole heart — be acquired by perseverance of unceasing works. The thing itself lies in the power of him that acts,—because "the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence." This thing, O man, that is, the kingdom of heaven, requires no other price than thyself. It is worth

what thou art worth; give thyself, and thou shalt have that. Why shouldst thou be troubled about the price? Christ surrendered Himself, that He might win thee as a kingdom to God the Father. In like manner do thou give thyself, that thou mayest become this kingdom, that "sin may not reign in thy mortal body," but the Spirit may rule there, to the acquiring of life. Let it be our joy then to stretch forth after the palm of salutary works. Let us one and all willingly and readily strive in this contest of righteousness; let us run with God and Christ for spectators, and if we have already begun to rise superior to this world and this life, let us not allow our course to be retarded by any hankering after it. If the last day shall find us running without hindrance and swiftly in this race, the Lord will never deny remuneration to our merit. For He who will give a purple crown for their passion to them that conquer in persecution, the same will bestow a snow-white diadem, according to the merits of their righteousness, to them that triumph in peace. For neither Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Jacob was slain; and yet, honored by the merits of their faith and righteousness, they were reckoned the first among the patriarchs; and whoever shall be found faithful, and just, and praiseworthy, shall sit down with them at the banquet. — These are the footsteps which the saints, as they were returning to their country,

left behind, that, treading in their prints, we might also follow them in their joys.

Let us consider that Paradise is our country, as well as theirs; and so we shall begin to reckon the patriarchs as our fathers. Why do we not, then, hasten and run, that we may behold our country and salute our parents? A great multitude of dear ones is there expecting us; a vast and mighty crowd of parents, brothers, and children, secure now of their own safety, anxious yet for our salvation, long that we may come to their right and embrace them, to that joy which will be common to us and to them, to that pleasure expected by our fellow-servants as well as ourselves, to that full and perpetual felicity. . . . If it be a pleasure to go to them, let us eagerly and covetously hasten on our way, that we may soon be with them, and soon be with Christ: that we may have Him as our Guide in this journey, who is the Author of Salvation, the Prince of Life, the Giver of Gladness, and who liveth and reigneth with God the Father Almighty and with the Holy Ghost.

Translated by the Rev. John Mason Neale.

PETER DAMIANI

Peter Damiani was born at Ravenna, A.D. 1006 or 1007. His parents were in humble circumstances, but by the aid of his brother he was able to study at Faenza and Parma. In this way he fitted himself for a scholastic career. In spite of his success as a teacher he was by no means contented with a secular life and after a short time took the monastic vows at Fonteavellana. Here he became prior in 1043 and was able to commence his great work as a reformer of Church discipline. He was of material aid in the reformation associated with the name of Hildebrand. He became Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in 1057.

The principles on which Peter worked were twofold : for the regular clergy, strictest obedience to the monastic rules, diligent study of the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, a rigid asceticism ; for the secular clergy, the absolute extirpation of simony, by which Peter understood, not so much the acceptance of ecclesiastical offices from laymen, as the purchase of those offices or of holy orders; and of Nicolaitism, by which he understood not merely the concubinage of priests, but even what had formerly been regarded, by many at least, as lawful marriage. Peter's opposition as to simony was modified by Hildebrand ; as to Nicolaitism, it was merely adopted and enforced.

Peter laid aside his episcopal office in 1067 and returned to his monastery, though he retained his title of Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. But here he was not permitted to remain long. His splendid talents were ever employed by the Church in the important business of the Roman court. He died of a fever at Faenza, February 22, 1072.

The sermons of Peter Damiani are considered by critics the best of the century in which he lived. From their character they seem to have been delivered in the monastery of which

he was an inmate. His style is clear and simple. His knowledge of the Scriptures was such that by piecing together a multitude of texts, he occasionally constructed long passages in almost the exact words of the Bible.

The works of Damiani were first collected and published by Constantine Cajetan, Rome, 1602, and have been reprinted from this edition by Migne. Only a few fragments have been translated. The literature on Damiani is extremely scanty in English. Milman mentions him in his *Latin Christianity* only to condemn him. Greenwood (in his *Cathedra Petri*, London, 1861, bk. x., chaps. 2, 3) gives a fairly good account of the work in which Peter was engaged. See also the *Vita* prefixed to Damiani's works ; Gfrörer, *Papst Gregorius VII. und sein Zeitalter*, 1859–1861 ; Von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 5th edition, vols. 2, 3 ; Alf. Capecelatro, *Storia di San Pier Damiani e del' suo tempore*, Firenze, 1862.

SPEECH AT MILAN

Damiani.

The following speech, or possibly abstract of a speech, was delivered at Milan, A.D. 1059. It is found in the fifth Opusculum, or tract, in the works of the author, in which he gives Hildebrand an account of his work at Milan. He had been sent to that city with Hildebrand to carry out the reforming plans of the Roman See, and the first thing to be done was to reduce the Milanese clergy to obedience to the Roman Church. This Damiani had to do unaided, as his colleague soon left him and went to France. The clergy of Milan opposed with great violence the claims of Rome, and refused to acknowledge her jurisdiction over the Church of Milan. Disorders occurred in the basilica of St. Ambrose; soon a fearful tumult arose; the bells of the churches sounded the alarm and the mob rushed to the palace of the Archbishop. For a time the life of the legate seemed to be in danger. The Archbishop, in the meanwhile, had acknowledged the claims of Rome, and when the crowd burst into the synod hall they found him, to their astonishment, seated at the feet of the papal legate. Damiani thereupon arose and delivered the following speech:

MY dear friends, your charity should have recognized that I did not come here for the honor of the Roman Church, but, if you will permit me, to seek your glory and with Christ's aid to care for your salvation and grace, which is in Christ. For in what respect should she stand in need of any honor that a mere man could bestow upon her, after she has received praise and glory from the lips of the Savior himself? What

province, moreover, among all the kingdoms of the earth, is there beyond the authority of Him by whose will the very heavens are bound together or dissolved? In the case of churches of all ranks, it matters not whether they are of the lofty dignity of a patriarchate, or the preëminence of the metropolitan sees, or of the episcopal authority and dignity of the bishopric, or any other order or rank you please, some one has founded them; it may be that it was an emperor, or a king, or a man of any other rank; and so far as they were so inclined and had the power, they attached to these foundations various privileges and rights. But He who founded the Roman Church and built it upon the rock of a new-born faith was the same who gave to the blessed Key-bearer of eternal life at once the rights of an earthly and a heavenly authority and dominion. It was, therefore, by no human plan or thought that the Roman Church was founded, but by the Word by whom the heavens and the earth were created, by whom, in short, all the elements of the world were made. Most certainly does that Church perform its tasks equipped with the privileges that are His. Most certainly is it upheld by the authority that is His. If, therefore, whoever strips from any church any right does wrong, he who presumes to deprive the Roman Church of any privilege given to it as the head of all the churches, falls in conse-

quence of that act, and without the least shadow of doubt, into heresy. When any one is known to have committed this crime, let him be branded as a heretic. He does indeed violate the faith who does aught hostile to her who is the mother of the faith. For he has shown himself disobedient to her who, as every one knows, preached the faith to all the churches.

Let us put aside all other questions and come to the matter that is now before us. To those as devout as you it cannot be unknown that the princes of the Apostles consecrated the Roman Church with their own blood. In the same way they won to Christ this church of Milan, by the aid of their disciples, while the faith was still in its mere beginnings. For Nazirus, that famous martyr, received baptism, as one can read in the ancient records, on the authority of St. Peter, from his successor, Linus. Afterwards in this holy city he was crowned, with the blessed Celsus, by a martyr's death. But the holy martyrs Protasius and Gervasius, as you all know, had as their master and teacher the blessed Apostle Paul. And of them the blessed Ambrose testifies: "These are they," said he, "who have obeyed the precepts of the Savior, and, spurning lands and goods, have followed the footsteps of our Lord." Just as our Savior, then, sent His disciples two and two before His face, so, in a certain way, each of these holy

Apostles sent by His authority preachers two and two to this city. Since, therefore, the authors of your salvation went forth under the direction of the Roman Church, it follows, according to every principle of natural justice, that the Roman Church is the mother, and the Ambrosian Church is the daughter. It is furthermore most certain that this relation between the two, that is, between the Ambrosian and the Apostolic sees, is not an affair of yesterday, but has existed from the most ancient times.

The blessed Ambrose was grieved at the filthiness of the Nicolaitans, which filled the city as it were with a stench to the ruin of many. When, then, he saw he could not by his own powers overcome this vile sect, immediately he sought the aid of the Apostolic see. Pope Siricius, who at that time held the primacy, sent to him three persons, a presbyter, a deacon, and a sub-deacon, that they might correct this crime that so worthily deserved punishment. The most blessed pontiff, with the aid of these men, cast out of the city those whom he could not correct, as if he were casting out of a net a vile mass swarming with worms. In this St. Ambrose himself acknowledged that he followed the rule of the holy Roman Church. Search therefore your records, and seek diligently for the truth wherever you please, and if you are not able to find among yourselves what we teach,

then denounce me as a liar. If, however, you do find it, do not resist the truth, do not cruelly attack your mother ; but rather suck from her breast the milk of Apostolic faith, and rejoice ever in refreshing yourselves at that feast she spreads of her sound and heavenly doctrine.

Translated by Joseph Cullen Ayer, B.D., Ph.D.

THE GLORY OF THE CROSS OF CHRIST

[Selection.] *Damiani.*

The following extract from a sermon of Damiani is given for the purpose of illustrating his religious style. This specimen is in some respects of a higher type than the speech at Milan, but this is doubtless due to the fact that it is preserved exactly as delivered, while the speech at Milan is probably a condensation or a summary. There are no details of the time or place where this sermon was delivered. It was, however, probably preached at Fonteavellana, a place at which Damiani lived for many years, and for which he had a great affection.

WHY do we endeavor to collect into one the types of the Cross which are contained in Holy Scriptures, when every page is subservient —the Holy Ghost so ordering it— to this terrible sign? This is the mercy-seat to which the two cherubim look with their faces turned towards each other; because the two Testaments,—the Old and the New,—concordantly, and without any difference, point to Him who hung upon the Cross. For John saith, "And He is the propitiation for our sins"; and Peter, speaking of the ancient Fathers, affirms, "By the grace of Christ, we trust that we shall be saved, even as they." The Cross, then, is the concord of Scriptures, and, as it were, the boundary and the borderland of old and new

things. The Cross confederates heaven and earth; the Cross rejoins men and angels in the unanimity of their ancient concord. The Cross is the death of vice, and the fountain and life of all virtue. The Cross is the path of the wise; the highroad of them that are earnest in the race; the rest of those that have attained the goal. The Cross is the earnest for those that are enlisted; the strength of those that are engaged in war; the reward of those that have been discharged from service. The Cross is the courage of those that are fighting bravely; the recovery of those that are fallen; the crown of those that are victorious. The Cross subjects us to a momentary death, and recompenses us with eternal life. The Cross strips us of earthly goods, that it may enrich us with heavenly possessions; teaches us to hunger that it may satisfy us; inures us to humility, that it may exalt us; accustoms us to patience, that it may crown us. The Cross is the rule to those that live in Christ; is the perfect pattern of righteousness; is the example of all good practices. The Cross terrifies the Devil and he flies; invites good angels, and they enter; represses the vain fantasies of our thoughts, and introduces the Holy Ghost to chaste and pure hearts. The Cross refreshes the weary; strengthens the weak; and comforts those who have already begun to despair.

And what more shall I say? It was by the

Cross that the King of Glory delivered us from the fetters of the cruel tyrant, and penetrated by His might into the dungeons of hell. He absolved all His elect from the chains of their ancient condemnation ; whom also He raised with Himself by the glory of His resurrection. What shall I say of the fame of that Cross, which, as its own first-fruits, caused the thief to enter into heaven, and by him opened the gates of Paradise, that thenceforth all the elect might pass through them ? That angel who had received the sword which excluded from Paradise beheld the key which was to open it in the Cross, and no longer opposed himself to the entrance. Not that cross which he bore, but that in which he believed, and in the virtue of which he trusted when he said, " Lord, remember me when Thou comest in Thy kingdom." Wonderful liberty of him that was condemned ! Wonderful power of Him that justified ! He that is judged, judges. He that is condemned, absolves one that is condemned. The Cross on which He hangs He makes both the judgment-seat of one that pronounces sentence, and the separation by the law of equity between thief and thief, as between the sheep and the goats. " I," said the Lord, " if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me."

Of those then that were to be drawn, the thief was the first, to whom He presently said, " To-

day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise." Him whom He had first extricated from the chains of eternal death, He first introduced into life. By the Cross, then, or rather by Him who vouchsafed to hang upon the Cross, all things are restored, all things are blessed, all things are covered with the dew of heaven. But above all, the human soul, which was barren, bitter, insipid, is made by the coming of the Savior fertile and sweet, and is endued with the salt of wisdom; which was expressly figured by that miracle of Elisha the Prophet. For when the men of Jericho complained that their waters were evil and their land barren, "Bring me," said he, "a new vessel and put therein salt." Then he cast that salt into the fountain, and thus cleansed those waters from all death and barrenness. And what else does this teach us, to sum up the whole briefly, than that the Word should be made flesh, and should dwell among us? For what are the waters except the people of this world? What is the new vessel except the body of the Lord, defiled by no pollution of ancient trangression, brought into subjection by no abuse of the old man? What is the salt, except heavenly wisdom?

The wisdom therefore of the Father descended into a human body, and thus turned the minds of all the faithful into fertility and into the sweetness of the truth of life. Which sweetness was hid until the salt was cast into the water; that is, until

He hung upon the Cross who said, "Save Me, O God, for the waters are come in even unto My soul." And then man learnt what he ought to seek and what to avoid. . . . O truly noble tree, which proceedest indeed from an earthly origin, but stretchest forth thy happy boughs beyond the stars! Once thy fruit was the prey of hell; now thou bearest the cedars of Paradise, and those living stones come forth from thee with which the dwellings of the heavenly Jerusalem are constructed. Blessed Cross indeed! Because when the sun was hiding its rays, that it might not behold that sacrilege, when the earth was quaking, when the elements were trembling with fear, thou wast able to stand by thy dying Lord as His one and only companion, to lay beneath Him thy pious arms, and to cherish Him on thy gentle bosom. Blessed Cross indeed! Glorious with the affixture of the Redeemer of the world, empurpled with the precious blood of the Immaculate Lamb! Thou art the salvation of a ruined race, thou art the light of them that sit in darkness, the medicine of the sick, the strength of the recovering, a harbor to them that are in danger, a refuge to them that are escaping from the jaws of death! Through thee, wanderers become members of the family; and they who have long been foreigners are made fellow-citizens of the Apostles. In thee cruel death, while it slays, is slain, and the author of

death is himself destroyed, and lost life is recovered for man. Thou didst arm the hand of Jael with the nail by which she smote Sisera through both his temples, and herself, a type of the Church, destroyed the devil. Thou didst fill the sling of David with the stone whereby he struck Goliath the Philistine, and marked him in the forehead, where he did not wear thy blessed mark. Thee, O blessed Cross, the faith of the patriarchs, the prophecies of the seers, the senate of the Apostles, the victorious army of the martyrs, the company of all the saints, venerate, proclaim, honor. The sweet scent of thy fragrance is better than all spices; thy nectar excels every kind of condiment and all honey. Blessed Cross! title of glory, ensign of victory, signet of eternal redemption! Earth owes its life to thee; heaven is indebted to thee that it has been restored to the plentitude of its numbers. For it was by thee that exiled man returned to his country, and the number of the angels, diminished before, was restored. By thee it is that the slaves of demons become by adoption children of God; and they that were once worshippers of idols are now coheirs with Christ. Glorious Cross! before whom the empires of the world fall down, whom the sceptres of every principality obey, to whom the laws of all kingdoms are made subject!

Translated by the Rev. John Mason Neale.

URBAN II.

Urban II. was born in Châtillon-sur-Marne in the diocese of Rheims. His knightly birth assured him an honorable career in the Church, and at an early age he became Archdeacon of Rheims. Later he came under the influence of St. Bruno, and entered the monastery at Cluny. Here he was brought in contact with the great reform movement which centred in Hildebrand. He attached himself to the fortunes of that pontiff, and was named by him as one fitted to carry on his great work. He succeeded to the papal see (1087) after the short pontificate of Victor IV. He found himself on his accession the heir not only to the Petrine prerogative, but also to the quarrel of his predecessors with the imperial party and the antipope Clement III. He retained, however, the valuable aid of the Countess Matilda, and being gifted with much tact and no less firmness he was able to further not a little the work of Gregory VII. He was able, furthermore, by putting himself at the head of militant Christendom in the Crusades, to do more to acquire for the papacy its position of authority than almost any other pontiff. He died just after the fall of Jerusalem, in 1099, but before the news of that great event could reach him.

Urban's claim to be numbered among the orators of the Church rests upon his speech summoning the faithful to the Crusades, which he delivered at the Council of Clermont. If the excellence of oratory is to be estimated by the advantage taken of an opportunity to influence history and turn the flood of human passion into the course of some momentous enterprise, then Urban's claim to be numbered among the great orators is well founded. The age in which he lived knew little, and appreciated still less, the graces of oratory. But the rude minds of the people were easily moved by even unskilful appeals to their passions and interests. The success of Urban

was accordingly more a measure of the age in which he lived than of the art of the speaker.

Consult Lives of Urban II. by Pandulphus Pisanus and by Bernardus Guido in Muratori, *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores*, vol. iii., part i.; *Urban II. Vita*, by Ruinart in *J. Mabillon and Thomas Ruinart, Op. Posth.*, Paris, 1724, tom. iii.

Nearly contemporary accounts may be found in William of Malmesbury's Chronicle, book iv., ch. 2 (translated in Bohn's Library), and in William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, book i. A good description of the Council of Clermont and the events which led up to it may be found in Neander's *Church History* and in Milman's *Latin Christianity*.

SPEECH AT THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT

Urban II.

The Council of Clermont in Auvergne (November, 1098) was attended by a vast multitude. Peter the Hermit, by his harrowing accounts of the awful scenes of cruelty that he had witnessed in Palestine, had roused the greatest excitement throughout Europe. The word had been given at Piacenza, in the spring before, that at Clermont a decision would be reached as to the course Christian Europe should pursue. There at last indignation and enthusiasm found full expression.

The Pope stood on a lofty platform in the midst of the open plain. Around him were no less than fourteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops and ninety abbots. Thousands of clergy and laity thronged about the speaker. Here it was that the Pope delivered his memorable speech that hurled militant Christianity against the Moslems. Before he could finish, he was answered by the shout, " God wills it ! God wills it ! " At once men assumed the red cross of the Crusade. The greatest military event of the Middle Ages had already begun.

Urban probably spoke in French. The only reports, imperfect at the best, give the speech in Latin. The following version is that of William of Malmesbury.

YOU recollect, my dearest brethren, many things which have been decreed for you at this time : some matters in our council have been commanded, others inhibited. A rude and confused chaos of crimes required the deliberation of many days; an inveterate malady demanded a sharp remedy. For while we give unbounded scope to our clemency, our papal office finds numberless matters to proscribe, none to spare. But

it has hitherto arisen from human frailty that you have erred, and that, deceived by the speciousness of vice, you have exasperated the long suffering of God, by too lightly regarding His forbearance. It has arisen too from human wantonness, that, disregarding lawful wedlock, you have not duly considered the heinousness of adultery. From too great covetousness, also, it has arisen, that, as opportunity offered, by making captive your brethren, who were bought by the same great price, you have outrageously extorted from them their wealth.

To you, however, now suffering this perilous shipwreck of sin, a secure haven of rest is offered, unless you neglect it. A station of perpetual safety will be awarded you, for the exertion of a trifling labor against the Turks. Compare now the labors which you underwent in the practice of wickedness and those which you will encounter in the undertaking I advise. The intention of committing adultery or murder begets many fears, for, as Solomon says, "There is nothing more timid than guilt"; many labors, for what is more toilsome than wickedness? But "He who walks uprightly walks securely." Of these labors, of these fears, the end was sin; the wages of sin is death; the death of sinners is most dreadful. Now the same labors and apprehensions are required from you for a better consideration. The cause of these labors will be charity, if, thus warned by the command of God,

you lay down your lives for the brethren; the wages of charity will be the grace of God; the grace of God is followed by eternal life.

Go then prosperously; go then with confidence to attack the enemies of God. For they long since, O sad reproach to Christians! have seized Syria, Armenia, and lastly, all Asia Minor, the provinces of which are Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lydia, Caria, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycia, Cilicia; and now they insolently domineer over Illyricum and all the hither countries, even to the sea which is called the Straits of St. George. Nay, they usurp even the sepulchre of our Lord, that singular assurance of our faith, and sell to our pilgrims admission to that city, which ought, if Christians had a trace of their ancient courage left, to be open to Christians only. This alone might be enough to cloud our brows; but now who, except the most abandoned or the most hostile to the reputation of Christians, can endure that we do not divide the world equally with them?

They inhabit Asia, the third portion of the world, as their native soil, which was justly esteemed by our ancestors equal, by the extent of its tracts and greatness of its provinces, to the two remaining parts. There, formerly, sprang up the first germs of our faith; there, all the Apostles, except two, glorified God by their deaths; there, at the present day, the Christians, if any survive,

sustain life by a wretched kind of agriculture, and pay these miscreants tribute. Even with stifled sighs, they long for participation in your liberty, since they have lost their own. They hold Africa also, another portion of the world, already possessed by their arms for more than two hundred years; which I declare to be derogatory to Christian honor, because that country was anciently the nurse of celebrated geniuses, who by their divine writings will mock the rust of antiquity as long as there shall be a person who can relish Roman literature: the learned know the truth of what I say. Europe, the third portion of the world, remains; of which how small a part do we Christians inhabit! for who can call all those barbarians who dwell in remote islands of the frozen ocean Christians, since they live after a savage manner? Even this small portion of the world belonging to us is oppressed by the Turks and Saracens. Thus, for three hundred years, Spain and the Balearic Isles have been subjugated by them, and the possession of the remainder is eagerly anticipated by feeble men, who, not having courage to engage in close encounter, love a flying mode of warfare. The Turk never ventures upon close fight; but, when driven from his station, he bends his bow at a distance, and trusts the winds to cause the wound he intends. As he has poisoned arrows, venom, and not valor,

inflicts death on the man he strikes. Whatever he effects, then, I attribute to fortune, not to courage, because he wars by flight and by poison. It is apparent, too, that every race born in that region, being scorched with the intense heat of the sun, abounds more in reflection than in blood; and, therefore, they avoid coming to close quarters, because they are aware how little blood they possess. Whereas the people who are born amid the polar frosts, and distant from the sun's heat, are less cautious indeed, but, animated by their copious and rich flow of blood, they fight with the greatest alacrity. You are a nation born in the more temperate regions of the world, who may be both prodigal of blood, in defiance of death and wounds; and you are not deficient in prudence. For you equally preserve good conduct in camp, and are considerate in battle. Thus endued with skill and with valor, you undertake a memorable expedition.

You will be extolled throughout all ages if you rescue your brethren from danger. To those present, in God's name, I command this; to the absent I enjoin it. Let such as are going to fight for Christianity put the form of the cross upon their garments, that they may outwardly demonstrate the love arising from their inward faith. Let them enjoy, by the gift of God and the privilege of St. Peter, absolution from all their crimes. Let

this in the meantime soothe the labor of their journey; satisfied that they shall obtain, after death, the advantages of a blessed martyrdom. Put an end, then, to your crimes, that Christians may at least live peaceably in these countries. Go, and employ in noble warfare that valor and that sagacity which you used to waste in civil broils. Go, soldiers, everywhere renowned in fame, go, and subdue these dastardly nations. Let the noted valor of the French advance, which, accompanied by its adjoining nations, shall affright the whole world by the single terror of its name.

But why do I delay you longer by detracting from the courage of the Gentiles? Rather bring to your recollection the saying of God: "Narrow is the way that leadeth to life." Be it so then; the track to be followed is narrow, replete with death, and terrible with dangers; still this path will lead to your lost country. No doubt you must "by much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." Place, then, before your imagination, if you shall be made captive, torments and chains; nay, every possible suffering that can be inflicted. Expect, for the firmness of your faith, even horrible punishments; that so, if it be necessary, you may redeem your souls at the expense of your bodies. Do you fear death, you men of exemplary courage and intrepidity? Surely human wickedness can devise nothing against you, worthy to be put in competition

with heavenly glory; for "the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory which shall be revealed in us." Know ye not, "that for men to live is wretchedness, and to die is happiness"? This doctrine, if you remember, you imbibed with your mother's milk, through the preaching of the clergy; and this doctrine your ancestors, the martyrs, held out by example. Death sets free from its earthy prison the human soul, which then takes flight for the mansions fitted to its virtues. Death brings near their country to the good; death cuts short the wickedness of the ungodly. By means of death, then, the soul, made free, is either soothed with joyful hope, or is punished without further apprehension of worse. So long as it is fettered to the body, it derives from it earthly contagion; or, to say more truly, is dead. For earthly with heavenly, and divine with mortal, ill agree. The soul, indeed, even now, in its state of union with the body, is capable of great efforts; it gives life to its instrument, secretly moving and animating it to exertions almost beyond mortal nature. But when, freed from the clog which drags it to the earth, it regains its proper station, it partakes of a blessed and perfect energy, communicating after some fashion with the invisibility of the divine nature. Discharging a double office, therefore, it ministers life to the body when it is present, and is the cause of its

change when it departs. You must observe how pleasantly the soul wakes in the sleeping body, and apart from the senses sees many future events, from the principle of its relationship to the Deity. Why then do ye fear death, who love the repose of sleep, which resembles death? Surely it must be madness, through lust of a transitory life, to deny yourselves that which is eternal. Rather, my dearest brethren, should it so happen, lay down your lives for the brotherhood.

Rid God's sanctuary of the wicked; expel the robbers; bring in the pious. Let no love of relations detain you; for man's chiefest love is towards God. Let no attachment to your native soil be an impediment; because all the world is exile to the Christian, but from another point of view all the world is his country. Thus exile is his country, and his country exile. Let none be restrained from going by the largeness of his patrimony, for a still larger patrimony is promised him: not of such things as soothe the miserable with vain expectation, or flatter the indolent disposition with the mean advantages of wealth, but of such as are shown by perpetual example and approved by daily experience. Yet these too are pleasant, but vain, and, to such as despise them, produce reward a hundredfold.

These things I publish, these I command: and for their execution I fix the end of the ensuing

spring. God will be gracious to those who undertake this expedition, that they may have a favorable year, both in abundance of produce and in serenity of season. Those who may die will enter the mansions of heaven; while the living shall behold the sepulchre of the Lord. And what can be greater happiness, than for a man, in his lifetime, to see those places where the Lord of heaven lived as a man? Blessed are they who, called to these occupations, shall inherit such a recompense; fortunate are those who are led to such a conflict, that they may partake of such rewards.

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

ANSELM

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born 1033 A.D. at Aosta in Piedmont. His father, Gundulf, belonged to a noble family of Lombardy, but had removed to Aosta. Anselm had to contend with paternal opposition to his desire to embrace the monastic life. Not until he was twenty-seven, after a life of adventure and discontent, did he become a monk at the abbey of Bec in Normandy in 1060. He had been attracted there by the reputation of its abbot, Lanfranc, Anselm's fellow-countryman. Lanfranc soon after removed to Caen, and Anselm became the prior of the monastery in 1063, and abbot in 1078, having been chosen on account of his great learning, strict asceticism, and amiable disposition. He subsequently succeeded Lanfranc as Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1093. In connection with this office he came into conflict with William II. and Henry I. regarding investiture. Anselm, in this matter, held firmly to the position of Hildebrand, and refused investiture from lay hands. He also stoutly maintained the legitimacy of Pope Urban II. He was successful in both contentions, though at times driven into exile, and in actual danger of his life. He died April 21, 1109.

Anselm's importance in history rests in part upon his controversy with the temporal authorities in England, and still more upon his extraordinary theological pamphlets. In two of these, the *Monologion* and the *Proslogion,* he attempts to give a metaphysical proof of the existence of God. In a third, the *Cur Deus Homo,* which is even more celebrated, he states the rational necessity of the Atonement, presenting that doctrine in practically a new form. His works mark the beginning of scholasticism. He is also deservedly remembered for his homiletical work, in which he was greatly influenced by St. Augustine. His honorable and gentle character, his deep piety, his humility, and at the same time his boldness in the

defence of what he believed to be "of faith," could not find a nobler form of expression.

Anselm's works have been often reprinted. The best editions are those of Gabriel Gerbeson, Paris, 1675, and the edition printed at Venice in 1774; this latter has been reprinted by Migne. Numerous translations of Anselm's works exist. The principal works on Anselm are: Hase, *Anselm von Canterbury,* volume i., Leipsic, 1842; volume ii., 1852; Ch. de Rémusat, *Anselme de Cantorbéry, tableau de la vie monastique et de la lutte du pouvoir spirituel avec le pouvoir temporel au XI. siècle,* Paris, 1853. In English there are Mart, *Rule, Life, and Times of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury,* two volumes, London, 1883, and the interesting and popular life by Dean R. W. Church, London, 1870, often reprinted.

OUR LORD WALKING ON THE SEA

Anselm.

The following discourse is the third of the sixteen sermons by St. Anselm that are extant. In it St. Anselm follows his usual method of expounding the Gospel for the day verse by verse, in the manner of the early homilists. One sees in it a good example of the mystical interpretation, which delighted to see the profoundest truths in apparently unimportant details recorded in Scripture. Exegetically such a method seems to modern minds unqualified and even arbitrary and absurd. It was, however, a way the Mediæval Church had of expressing its profound reverence for the very word of the sacred narrative. It was due to the conviction that every act of Christ had a meaning in the great work of redemption, and to a humility that was willing to learn from everything of God's ways. It is in this spirit that such passages should be read and appreciated.

"And straightway Jesus constrained His disciples to get into a ship, and to go before Him to the other side, while He sent the multitude away."

IN this lesson, according to its mystical interpretation, we have a summary description of the state of the Church, from the coming of the Savior to the end of the world. For the Lord constrained His disciples to get into a ship, when He committed the Church to the government of the Apostles and their followers. And thus to go before Him unto the other side,—that is, to bear onward toward the haven of the celestial country, before He Himself should entirely depart from the

world. For, with His elect, and on account of His elect, He ever remains here until the consummation of all things; and He is preceded to the other side of the sea of this world by those who daily pass hence to the Land of the Living. And when He shall have sent all that are His to that place, then, leaving the multitude of the reprobate, and no longer warning them to be converted, but giving them over to perdition, He will depart hence that He may be with His elect alone in the kingdom.

Whence it is added, "while He sent the multitude away." For in the end of the world He will send away the multitude of His enemies, that they may then be hurried by the devil to everlasting damnation. "And when He had sent the multitude away, He went up in a mountain apart to pray." He will not send away the multitude of the Gentiles till the end of the world; but He did dismiss the multitude of the Jewish people at the time when, as saith Isaiah, "He commanded His clouds that they should rain no rain upon it"; that is, commanded His Apostles that they should preach no longer to the Jews, but should go to the Gentiles. Thus, therefore, He sent away that multitude, and went up into a mountain, that is, to the height of the celestial kingdom, of which it has been written, "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall rise up in His holy place?"

For a mountain is a height, and what is higher than heaven? There the Lord ascended. And He ascended alone, for "no man hath ascended up into heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven." And even when He shall come at the end of the world, and shall have collected all of us, His members, together, and shall have raised us into heaven, He will also ascend alone, because Christ, the Head, is one with His Body. But now the Head alone ascends — the Mediator of God and man — the Man Christ Jesus. And He goes up to pray, because He went to the Father to intercede for us. "For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself now to appear in the presence of God for us."

It follows, "And when the evening was come, He was there alone." The evening signifies the nearness of the end of the world, concerning which John also speaks: "Little children, it is the last time." Therefore it is said that when the evening was come, He was there alone, because when the world is drawing to its end, He by Himself, as the true High Priest, enters into the Holy of Holies, and is there at the right hand of God, and also maketh intercession for us. But while He prays on the mountain, the ship is tossed with waves in the deep. For, since the

billows arise, this ship may be tossed; but since Christ prays, it cannot be overwhelmed.

For it follows: "But the ship was now in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves, for the wind was contrary." The ship is the Church; the sea is this world; the waves of the sea are the swellings and tribulations of the world, or the agitations of temptation. The contrary wind is the violence of devils, by which the powers of this world are excited against the Church and the world is frequently stirred up against the saints, and by which vices and iniquities are always suggested. The ship, therefore, was tossed with waves in the midst of the sea, while Jesus was tarrying on the top of the mountain, because from the time that the Savior ascended into heaven, Holy Church has been agitated by great tribulations in this world, and driven with the various whirlwinds of persecution, and vexed by the pravity of wicked men, and assailed in every possible way with sins. For the wind is contrary, because the blasts of evil spirits are always opposed to her, to the end that she may not attain to the haven of salvation, and seek to overwhelm her with the billows of this world's adversities, exciting against her all the contrarieties which it can bring to pass.

It follows: "And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus went unto them, walking on the sea." Since the night has twelve hours, and four military

watches, three hours being comprehended in each watch, the fourth watch is the depth of night. But night signifies the darkness of tribulation, and errors, and vices, and the dangers of temptation. In the fourth watch, then, of the night, that is, in the extremity of persecution, which had long been severe under pagan kings, or towards the end of every heavy adversity, Jesus comes to His own. And He comes walking upon the sea, that is, treading on all the waves of tribulation, trampling under foot all the swellings of this world, and overcoming all its proud thoughts. For what can we understand by the sea, except the bitterness of this world, which satisfies its rage by the slaughter of the good? On the waves, then, of the sea the Lord walks, because when the storms of persecution lift up themselves, they are broken by the wonders of His miracles. For He that mitigates the swellings of human madness treads down, as it were, the waves, when they are gathered together in an heap. For when the Gentiles perceived that their customs were destroyed by the preaching of a new manner of life; when the rich of this world beheld that the deeds of the poor contradicted their own superiority; when the wise of this world understood that the words of the unlearned were opposed to themselves,—they swelled into a tempest of persecution. But they who were excited by the opposition of words to such a storm

were brought low, as we have said, by their wonder at the miracles performed. The Lord, therefore, planted as many of His footsteps on these waves as He exhibited miracles to those proud persecutors.

It follows: "And when the disciples saw Him walking on the sea, they were troubled, saying, It is a spirit; and they cried out for fear." Jesus passes by, treading on the waves; and yet there are so great temptations, that even they who have believed in Jesus, and who endeavor to persevere even to the end, are often troubled and afraid lest they should fail. Christians fear when Christ, I say, is walking upon the waves; that is, when He is depressing the ambitions and proud thoughts of the world. Rightly, therefore, is it said, that the disciples feared when He was walking on the sea; because Christians, although they have set their hope on the world to come, when they see the lofty things of this world depressed, are sometimes troubled about the destruction of human greatness; neither do they think that this is brought to pass by God, but by the enemy. They were troubled, saying, It is a spirit, because, when they perceive that the glory of this world is overthrown, and the height of secular elevation is cast down, and the floods of this world trampled on, they are frequently troubled concerning the shaking of the present life, because they do not yet understand that it is God who does these things, but they

imagine that it is the spirit of this world, that is to say, Satan in his craft, who brings these things to pass, and they cry out to the Lord for fear. But after a while, weighing the matter more diligently, they open the Holy Scriptures, and there find that all these things are predicted, and discover that it is not the empty and shadowy spirit who has lost his true essence, but the very Lord, who effects this, and depresses the proud thoughts of the world, that He may be glorified by the humble.

Whence it properly follows: "But straightway Jesus spake unto them, saying, Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid." And He speaks this to His own, either by internal inspiration, or by the Scriptures, or by preachers. "Be not," saith He, "afraid," but have confidence; be not terrified, but intrepid, because it is I who have predicted these things, and now perform them for your profit, and therefore it is necessary that they should come to pass. It is I who am not changed, and whose words pass not away, but remain and are accomplished in deeds; I who spake to Moses, "I Am that I Am," and commanded him, "So shalt thou say to the children of Israel, I Am hath sent me unto you." For anything that is changeable does not really exist. That is not true existence, where also there can be non-existence. For whatever can be changed is not that which it was. And in truth, that which remains is not mutation,

neither is there any past or any future in it, but only a present; which is never the case with respect to any creature. Consider the vicissitudes of things, and you will find in them a "has been" and a "shall be." Think of God, and you will find an "is," where there cannot be a "has been" nor a "shall be." Rightly, therefore, Christ, who is the eternal and immutable Truth, speaks to those who are tossed by the tribulation of the world, "It is I; be not afraid."

It follows: "And Peter answered Him, and said, Lord, if it be Thou, bid me come unto Thee on the water; and He said, Come." Peter signifies the order of preachers; and waters typify not only tribulations, but also peoples. If, saith he, it be Thou,—if Thou remainest without changing,—bid me, because Thy command is efficacious power, bid me come unto Thee upon the waters — upon the waves of earthly tribulations, and over many people. That I, adhering to Thee, who art immutable, may also be immutable by participation in Thy firmness. For he goes over tribulations who is not conquered or overwhelmed by them, but treads upon and overcomes them; as we read that the tribulation, in which the Protomartyr died for Christ, took place under Stephen. But that man goes to Christ over the peoples who, by governing the multitude of the faithful, makes his way to the kingdom of heaven.

It follows : "And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water to go to Jesus." This has been fulfilled, and still is being fulfilled, when holy preachers are sent forth to heathen nations. For Peter comes down out of the ship as often as any holy doctor descends from the bosom of the Church, his mother, where he has been educated, and goes with pious condescension to them that are without, that he may show them the way of salvation. And he walks upon the water when he both conquers and tramples on temptation, and when he subdues to himself the multitudes by causing them to believe in Christ. Walks, I say, and not stands ; because he is ever more and more entirely forgetting the things which are behind, and more and more reaching forth to those things which are before, and advancing in the daily increase of virtues. And all these things he doth that he may come to Jesus, who is the Savior and the Immutable Truth ; to the end that, laying hold of Him, and keeping close to Him, he may possess in Him true salvation and immutability.

It follows : "But when he saw the wind boisterous, he was afraid ; and beginning to sink, he cried, saying, Lord, save me." The boisterous wind is the vehement endeavor of evil spirits to stir up the hearts of men and make them restless in the persecution of the faithful ; or else mightily

to seduce them to evil. And that wind will then indeed be boisterous, when Satan, in the latter days, shall be let loose in his full strength against the righteous. And this appears now to be set forth in this sentence ; in which Peter, who typifies the order of preachers, is related to have feared when he saw the wind boisterous. For who, even among those that are perfect, shall not fear, when that savage persecution shall rage everywhere, under Antichrist? And when he fears he will sink a little, because on account of the horror of the torments which shall be inflicted on the saints, and from his wonder at the deceiving signs which shall be done by the followers of Antichrist, he will fluctuate a little in his heart, and will somewhat, in the baser part of his mind, give way to thoughts by which, unless the hand of Christ raise him, he may easily be altogether overwhelmed. But because he is elect, he will cry to Christ, Lord, save me : and so by His help he will be raised up. " For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved ; but for the elect's sake, those days shall be shortened."

Whence it here also aptly follows : " And immediately Jesus stretched forth His hand and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith,

wherefore didst thou doubt?" For the Savior quickly stretches forth His hand of salutary help to each of those that are His, because He "will not suffer them to be tempted above that they are able to bear." And He will quickly catch him,—that is, will hold him and lift him up by a certain power of divine assistance. O thou of little faith, saith He, wherefore didst thou doubt? Whose faith will not be shaken in that tribulation, when the martyr who shall pour forth his blood for Christ shall be able to work no miracle, and the torturer shall perform miracles before his very eyes? Let us consider, therefore, what will be that temptation of the human soul; for whose courage will not then be utterly shaken from the very depths of his thoughts, when he who tortures by cruelty is also illustrious with miracles? For with such iniquity and deceit will Antichrist and his ministers be then let loose against the righteous that the hearts of even the blessed shall be struck with no small fear. Whence it is written: "Insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." Which we must understand to be said, not because the elect can fall, but because they will tremble with great terror as if they were about to fall.

We may notice, also, that this commotion of the waves, and tottering or half-sinking of Peter, takes place even in our time, according to the

spiritual sense, daily. For every man's own besetting sin is the tempest. You love God: you walk upon the sea; the swellings of this world are under your feet. You love the world: it swallows you up; its wont is to devour, not to bear up, its lovers. But when your heart fluctuates with the desire of sin, call on the Divinity of Christ, that you may conquer that desire. You think that the wind is then contrary when the adversity of this world rises against you, and not also when its prosperity fawns upon you. For when wars, when tumults, when famine, when pestilence comes, when any private calamity happens even to individual men, then the wind is thought adverse, and then it is held right to call upon God; but when the world smiles with temporal felicity, then, forsooth, the wind is not contrary. Do not by such tokens as these judge of the tranquillity of the time; but judge of it by your own temptations. See if you are tranquil within yourself; see if no internal tempest is overwhelming you. It is a proof of great virtue to struggle with happiness, so that it shall not seduce, corrupt, subvert. Learn to trample on this world; remember to trust in Christ. And if your foot be moved, if you totter, if there are some temptations that you cannot overcome — if you begin to sink, cry out to Jesus, Lord, save me! In Peter, therefore, the common condition of all of us is to

be considered: so that, if the wind of temptation endeavors to upset us in any matter, or its billows to swallow us up, we may cry to Christ. He shall stretch forth His hand, and preserve us from the deep.

It follows: "And when He was come into the ship, the wind ceased." In the last day He shall ascend into the ship of the Church, because then He shall sit upon the throne of His glory; which throne may not unfitly be understood of the Church. For He who by faith and good works now and always dwells in the Church, shall then by the manifestation of His glory enter into it. And then the wind shall cease; because evil spirits shall no more have the power of sending forth against it the flames of temptation or the commotions of troubles; for then all things shall be in peace and at rest.

It follows: "Then they that were with Him in the ship came and worshipped Him, saying, Of a truth Thou art the Son of God." They who remain faithfully in the Church amidst the tempest of temptations will approach to Him with joy, and entering into His kingdom with Him, will worship Him; and praising Him perpetually, will affirm Him of a truth to be the Son of God. Then, also, that will happen which is written concerning the elect raised from the dead: "All flesh shall come and shall worship before My

Face, saith the Lord." And again: "Blessed are they that dwell in Thy House; they will be always praising Thee." For Him whom with their heart they believe to righteousness, and with their mouth confess to salvation, Him they shall see with their heart to light, and with their mouth shall praise to glory, when they behold how ineffably He is begotten of the Father: with whom He liveth and reigneth, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God to all ages of ages. Amen.

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

SAINT BERNARD

St. Bernard was born at Fontaines, near Dijon, Burgundy, in the year 1091. His father was of knightly rank and perished in the first Crusade. Bernard's education was from the first directed to the priesthood, as his family opposed his evident bent to a monastic life and he was not inclined to become a soldier. In 1113 he entered the monastery of Citeaux near Dijon. In this act he was accompanied by thirty other young men. This sudden increase of numbers and the consequent fame attracted many, and in 1115 Bernard was chosen by his abbot to found the allied monastery of Clairvaux, with which his name is chiefly associated. Bernard's fame as a churchman, a preacher, and a writer was rapidly acquired and firmly maintained. When the papal election was contested on the death of Honorius II., Innocent II. was established at Rome largely by the exertions of Bernard. The contest with Abelard, though it did not redound to the credit of Bernard with posterity, testified to the influence the saint had with his contemporaries. The great rationalist was at the height of his fame and influence, but Bernard was able to bring about his condemnation as a heretic. The part Bernard took in the second Crusade was most important. By his eloquence Louis VII. and the Emperor Conrad III. were persuaded to lead vast armies to the victory so confidently predicted by the saint. The disasters that befell the Crusaders, and the miserable failure of the whole movement, covered Bernard with abuse and filled him with grief. He died a few years after, on August 20, 1153.

St. Bernard was the greatest preacher of his times. His eloquence, though no doubt aided by his fame as a worker of miracles and as the Abbot of Clairvaux, was irresistible. He knew how to win his way to men's hearts by the sweetness and tenderness, the force and sublimity, of his style. The logical dexterity of the scholastics does not appear in his writ-

ings or speeches. He has in its place the force and earnestness of the patristic writers, whereby he gained the title of the "Last of the Fathers."

The works of St. Bernard have been perhaps printed more frequently than those of any other Father. The first critical edition was published by Mabillon, Paris, 1690, and this has been reprinted by Migne. Especially to be recommended are: Neander, *Der heilige Bernard* (best edition with additions, Gotha, 1889); Storrs, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, New York; Morison, *The Life and Times of St. Bernard*, London, 1868; Vacandard, *Vie de St. Bernard*, Paris, 1895. See also Leopold Janauschek, *Bibliographia Bernardina*, Vienna, 1891.

ON THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER

Bernard.

The following touching discourse by St. Bernard was delivered at Clairvaux, on the day of the funeral of his brother. Bernard tried long and manfully to repress the painful feelings that filled his heart. He went on as usual with his exposition of the Song of Solomon. But in the midst of his exposition his voice was drowned in the tears and sobs he could no longer restrain, and he was unable to proceed. When he recovered control of his emotions he did not resume the discourse on which he had been engaged, but gave free expression to his feelings in the following words.

MY affliction and the grief which overwhelms me compel me to break off this discourse. Why should I dissemble what I feel? The fire which I conceal in my bosom consumes and devours me; the more I strive to keep it within me, the more does its violence increase. How, then, can I unfold this song of gladness, while my soul is sad and in heaviness? The excess of my grief takes from me all liberty of spirit, and the blow which has fallen upon me has extinguished all the light of my soul. Hitherto I have striven and have been able to master myself, fearing lest the sentiments of nature should overpower those of faith. You observed, no doubt, that I followed the sad

procession without shedding a tear, while all around me wept abundantly; I stood with dry eyes by that grave, though the sight thereof wrung my heart. In my priestly vestments, I said the prayers of the Church over the deceased; I cast with my own hands, as the custom is, the earth upon the body of my dearly loved one, which shall soon be reduced to dust. You marvelled that I melted not into tears, and you wept less for the deceased than for me; for what heart, indeed, unless it were of bronze, would not have been touched to see me survive Gerard? It was because I collected within myself all the motives fitted to sustain my courage, to withstand my weakness.

But I have not been able to command my feelings, although I have repressed my tears — as it is written, "I was afflicted and I kept silence." I wished to concentrate my sorrows within myself; and they became only more intense and more acute. Now I confess myself vanquished; my sufferings must needs come forth and be seen by others. Let them, then, appear before the eyes of my children, that they may have compassion on me, and may the more tenderly console me. You know, my children, what deep cause I have of sorrow: you knew that faithful companion who has now left me alone in the path wherein we walked together; you knew the services he rendered me, the care which he took of all

Saint Bernard.

From a drawing by Turpin de Crissé.

rows? To whom shall I have recourse in my difficulties? Who will bear with me the burden of my woes? Who will defend me from the perils which surround me? It was the eye of my Gerard that guided my steps. Thy heart, O my brother, was more laden, more burdened than mine with the cares that overwhelm me. With thy words of sweetness and unction, thou wert wont to supply my place and set me free from secular conversations to enjoy the silence which I love. He stayed the flood of visits, and would not suffer all persons to come without distinction and absorb my leisure; he took upon himself to receive them, and brought to me only such as he judged it fitting I should see. O prudent man! O faithful friend! He fulfilled at once the duties of friendship and of charity. It was not that his taste led him to these troublesome offices, but he undertook them to spare me, to assist me, believing my repose to be more advantageous to the monastery than his own. Thus, at the approach of death: "Thou knowest," said he, "O my God, that for myself I have always desired retirement, and to be occupied with Thee alone; but Thy service, the will of my brethren, the duty of obedience, and especially the love of that brother who is both my father and my superior, have engaged me in the temporal affairs of the monastery." Oh yes, it is true, to Gerard I owe whatever

progress I have been able to make in my spiritual exercises. Thou wert in the midst of the embarrassment of business whilst I was meditating upon my Savior, or occupied in the instruction of my brethren; and, assuredly, I could repose in all security whilst thou wert caring for me as my right hand, as the light of my eyes, as my heart and my tongue. Thy hand was indefatigable, thine eye single, thy heart pure, and thy tongue judicious, according as it is written, "The mouth of the righteous is exercised in wisdom; and his tongue will be talking of judgment." Gerard was useful to me in all things, great and small, public and private, internal and external. I depended, indeed, upon him, for he was wholly mine, and left me only the name and honor of my office, of which he alone bore the burden. I was called abbot, but he fulfilled all the painful functions of my charge; and thus, by his self-devotion, he gained for me the necessary time for my exercises, my prayers, my studies, my preaching, my interior practices.

Flow, then, my tears, since you must needs fall; let the fountains of my eyes open, and let the waters pour forth abundantly to wash away the faults which have brought this chastisement upon me!

I mourn, but I complain not. Divine justice hath dealt rightly with us both: one has been

justly punished; the other deservedly crowned. I will say, then, the Lord hath shown Himself equally just and merciful; He gave him to us; He hath taken him away; and if we are made desolate by the loss, let us not forget the gift we so long enjoyed. I beseech you bear patiently with my complaints. Doubtless we see every day the dead weeping for the dead. But what do they? There is much noise and little fruit in such sorrow. Those who weep after this sort are themselves worthy of tears. For my part, I regret not the things of this world, but I regret Gerard. My soul was so bound up in his that the two made but one. Doubtless the ties of blood contributed to this attachment; but our chief bond was the union of hearts, the conformity of thought, will, and sentiment. And as we were in truth but one heart, the sword of death pierced both at once, and cut us in two parts—one is in heaven, the other is left in the dust of this world. Some one will, perhaps, tell me, Your grief is carnal. I deny not that it is human, as I deny not that I am a man. Nay, more, I will grant that it is carnal, since I myself am carnal—the slave of sin, destined to die, subject to misery. What! Gerard is taken from me—my brother in blood, my son in religion, my father in his care of me, my only beloved in affection, my very soul in his love—he is taken from me, and must I not feel it?

Ah! I am wounded — wounded grievously! Forgive me, my children — or, rather, since you are my children, have pity on the sorrow of your father. No; I murmur not against the judgments of God! He renders to every man according to his works: to Gerard the crown which he has won; to me the anguish which is good for me. God grant, my Gerard, that I may not have lost thee, but that thou mayst only precede me, and that I may follow thee whither thou art gone! For, assuredly, thou art gone to join those whom thou didst call upon to praise God with thee, when in the middle of that last night, to the astonishment of all present, thou didst suddenly intone, with a calm countenance, and voice of gladness, that verse of the psalm, "Praise the Lord, all ye in heaven; praise Him in the height." At that moment, O my brother, it was already day with thee, notwithstanding the darkness of our night; and that night was full of light to thee. They called me to witness this miracle, to see a man rejoicing in death. "O death, where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory!" To him thou art no sting, but a song of jubilee! This man dies singing, and sings as he is dying! And death, that mother of sorrow, becomes to him a source of joy! I had no sooner reached the bedside of the dying man, than I heard him pronounce aloud these words of the psalmist:

"Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Then repeating that same verse, and dwelling on the words, "Father! Father!" he turned towards me, and said with a smile: "Oh, what goodness in God to be the Father of men; and what glory for men to be the children of God!" Thus died he whom we all deplore; and I confess that it almost changed my affliction into rejoicing, so nearly did his happiness make me forget my misery!

O Lord, I remember the covenant I made with Thee, and Thy great mercies, that Thou mayst be justified in Thy words, and mayst triumph over our judgments! When we were at Viterbo last year on the business of the Church, Gerard fell sick; and his illness becoming daily more and more dangerous, I thought the time was come when God would take him to Himself. I could not then make up my mind to lose, in a strange land, this dear companion of my journey; and ardently desiring to restore him to the hands which had given him to me (for every one loved him, and he desired to be loved by every one), I began to pray and sigh, and I said to the Lord, "Lord, wait till my return! Wait till I have restored him to his friends, to his brethren; after that, take him, if such be Thy will, and I will not complain."

Thou heardest me then, and didst heal him! We finished the work with which Thou hadst

entrusted us, and returned together with joy, bringing with us the fruits of peace. Alas! I had well-nigh forgotten my promises, but Thou, O Lord, didst remember them, and I am ashamed of these tears, which testify to my unfaithfulness. What more shall I say? Thou hast recalled what belonged to Thee: Thou hast resumed what was Thine own; . . . My tears compel me to stop.

Lord, I beseech Thee, stay these tears, and moderate my grief!

Revised translation by the Editors of this volume.

TAULER

John Tauler, the German mystic, was born about the year 1300 at Strasburg, where his father was a man of considerable wealth and importance. Young Tauler came very early under the influence of the Dominicans, studying under Eckhart at Strasburg, in all probability at the Dominican convent at Cologne, and at the College of St. James in Paris. He settled in his native place after the completion of his education.

The great influence that runs throughout Tauler's life was his connection with the mystic movement of the self-styled "Friends of God." The dominant idea of this whole movement was the work of God in the soul, and the rest of the soul in the divine nature. The soul sought to apprehend the divine nature in union with itself, to lose itself, as a drop in the ocean of the divine existence. It was Tauler's great merit that in the working out of this principle he was able to avoid pantheism, and he did this by emphasizing the personal nature of that union with deity. When Tauler, with the other Dominican monks, was banished on account of political confusion, he sought refuge at Basle, where were the headquarters of the "Friends of God." In 1346 he returned to Strasburg. He died in 1361.

Tauler was a great preacher. His sermons are among the finest in the German language. He addresses himself directly to what is common to human nature because fundamental. For this reason many of his sermons might be used to-day, in spite of the difference between the taste of the age of the preacher and the present time.

The extant works of Tauler are his sermons; some also attribute to him *The Book of Spiritual Poverty*. The sermons have been reprinted often. A recent edition is that by Julius

Hamberger, Frankfurt, 1864. Miss Winkworth has translated a number of the sermons and a life of Tauler, and this material, with an introduction by the Rev. Charles Kingsley, has been recently published. See Vaughn, *Hours with the Mystics;* Preger, *Geschichte der Deutschen Mystic im Mittelalter.*

SERMON VI.

Tauler.

The following sermon gives a characteristic example of the style of Tauler. The fervent piety and admirable humanism of the discourse render it a model for preachers.

IN all this world God covets and requires but one thing only, and that He desires so exceeding greatly that He gives His whole might and energy thereto. This one thing is, that He may find that good ground which He has laid in the noble mind of man made fit and ready for Him to exercise His divine agency thereon. For God has all power in heaven and on earth, and the only thing that is lacking unto Him is that He is hindered from accomplishing the most glorious of all His works in man.

Now what must we do that God may shine in on this innermost ground of the soul, and work there? We must arise, says our text. Arise! this sounds as if we could do something towards this work. We must arise from all that is not God, from ourselves and from all creatures. And

by this act of arising, the ground of the soul is stirred, and a strong craving springs up in it; and the more this deepest ground of the soul is laid bare, and all that occupied and cumbered it is cleared away, the keener grows this craving after something higher than itself, so that ofttimes with God's lightest touch upon the naked soul the longing pierces through flesh and blood and marrow.

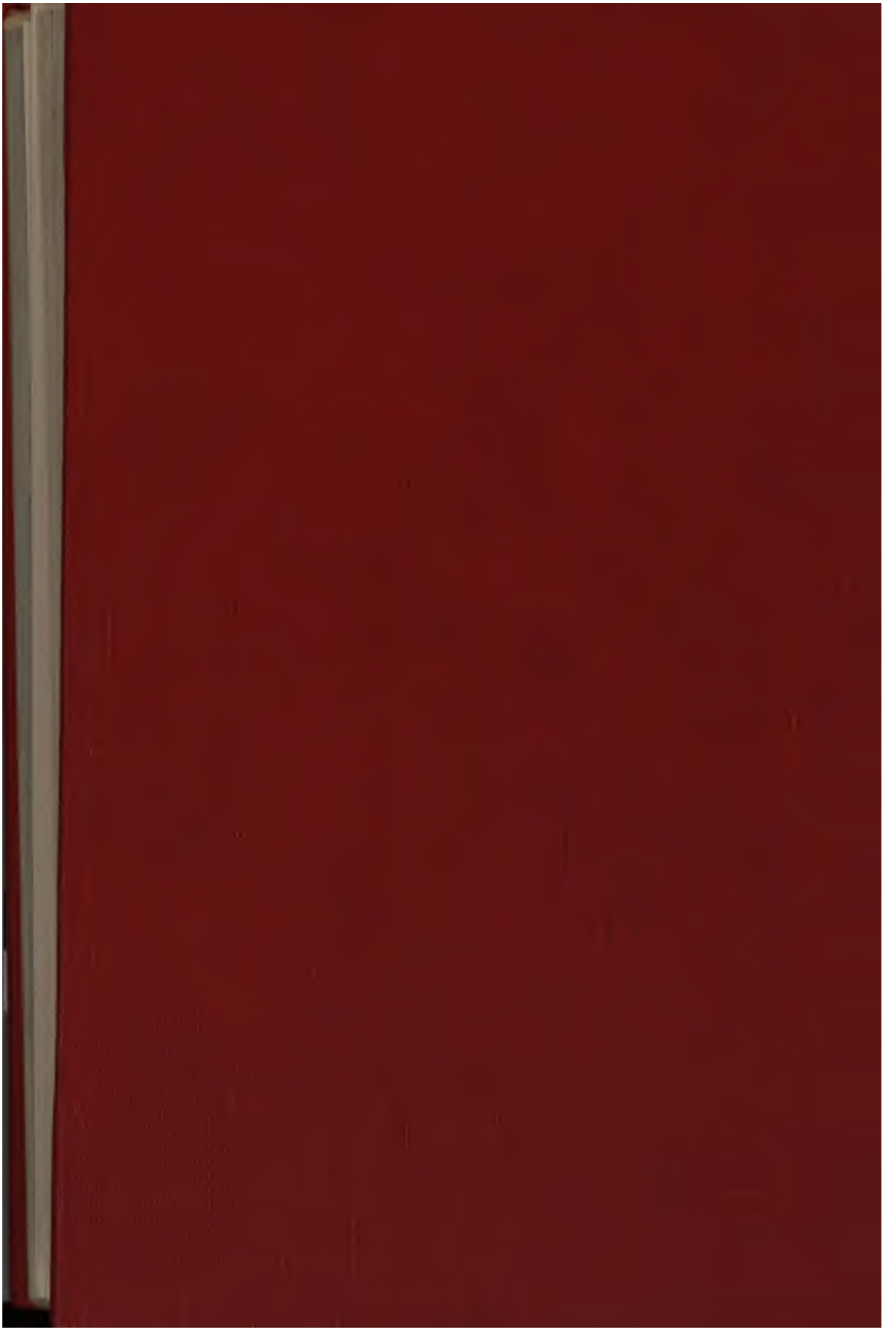
But there are two sorts of overbold men who are driven by this stirring up of their souls into two rash courses. The first come with their natural quickness of parts, and with the conceptions of their own minds, and try therewith to touch the principle of their souls, and seek to still the craving within them by hearing and learning of lofty matters. And in this they find great delight, and ween that they are a Jerusalem, a city of peace, by the exercise of their intellect. There is another class who think to prepare the ground of their souls for God and to obtain peace by means of self-chosen good works, or by religious exercises, such as prayer, meditation, or whatever they see other people do for the same end; and then they fancy they are verily children of Zion, and their works of piety and charity do yield them great peace, and they delight in nothing so much as in religious exercises and the fulfilling of the tasks they have set themselves. But that their

peace is a false one may be perceived by this, that they do not cure themselves of their former faults, such as pride, sensuality, self-indulgence, love of the creature, proneness to suspect or judge others; and if any offend them, resentment forthwith flames up within them, and an angry word escapes them, or hatred smoulders in their heart; and such like faults they indulge in with their own consent. By this we may know that they wish to manage their souls after their own fashion, and work in them; while God cannot accomplish His work in such a foul and unswept chamber. Therefore, their peace is false, and they have not yet arisen in truth. Let not such claim to be children of Zion, nor dare to think they have found true peace; but let them seriously set themselves to work to conquer their faults, exercising themselves, after the pattern of our Lord, in humility and works of love, dying unto themselves in all things, and thus learn how to rise on high.

But those others, that is to say, those noble men who do truly arise and receive divine light, these allow God to prepare their souls for Himself, and renounce themselves in all things without any reserve, either as regards their words or their daily habits, or what they do or refrain from, or anything else, whether things go smoothly or crossly with them. Both in framing their purposes, and in meeting what arises, they refer all to God in

humble fear, and give themselves wholly up to Him, in utter poorness of spirit, in willing self-surrender, acquiescing in the divine will. They are content to say in all matters: "As God will," in quiet or in disquiet; for their sole delight is the holy and excellent will of God. To these we may apply what Christ said unto His disciples when they bade Him to go up unto the feast: "Go ye up; your time is alway ready, but My time is not yet come." These men's time is alway ready for them to endure and submit; all time is fitting for them; but God's time is not alway ready, when He deigns or sees fit to work, or to send forth His light. This they submissively leave to His divine will, and are willing to wait as long as He pleases.

Now the distinguishing mark of this better sort of men is that they suffer God to order their souls' affairs, and do not hinder Him. Yet they are not raised above the shocks of temptation, nor even the liability to fall for a moment (for no one is entirely delivered from this danger), but afterwards, as soon as the first onset of passion is over, and their fault is held up before them, whether it be pride, or self-indulgence, or anger, or hatred, or whatever is their special temptation, they come to God in self-abasement, and submit themselves to Him, and bear without murmuring what He sees fit to appoint unto them. And such do in truth arise, for they rise above themselves in all things, and they

do become in truth a Jerusalem or stronghold of peace, for they have quiet in disquiet and prosperity in adversity, and rejoice in the will of God amidst all circumstances. Therefore no power in this world can take away their peace, nor could all the devils in hell, nor all the men on earth banded together. All their affections centre in God, and they are enlightened by Him of a truth; for He shines into their souls with a strong and clear light that reveals all things unto them; and He shineth as truly, nay far more brightly, in the blackest darkness than in the seeming light. Ah! these are sweet and lovely children of God, raised above nature by their likeness to Him; and such neither undertake nor bring to pass any of their works without God. Nay, if we may dare to use such language, they are, so to speak, nothing, but God is in them; as St. Paul says: "I live, yet not I but Christ liveth in me." Ah! these are highly favored men; they bear the world upon their shoulders and are the noble pillars of society. To make one of their number, what a blessed and glorious thing were that!

Now the distinguishing mark of those two classes of presumptuous men whom we first spoke of, is that they choose to govern their souls for themselves to the exclusion of God; and hence their powers are kept under bondage to sin, so that they cannot fully conquer their evil habits; nay,